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## PAUL REVERE

1735-1818

[PROMINENT MEN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD]

Paul Revere was born in North Square, Boston, January 1, 1735. His homestead, with its antique, projecting upper story, is still standing, and in habitable condition; the lower story is now occupied as a candy-shop. Here he was living during the Revolution, for the Massachusetts *Spy* of March 7, 1771, in describing the anniversary of the Boston massacre exercises, said: "At dark was exhibited in the chamber windows of Mr. Revere, in the Old North Square, a set of transparent paintings, representing, in the south window a monumental obelisk bearing in front, the bust of young Snider; and on the front of the pedestal, the names of the five persons murdered by the soldiery on the fifth of March, and all interred in the same grave with him." The *Boston Gazette* said: "The spectators were struck with solemn silence, and their countenances covered with a melancholy gloom." About the time the Revolutionary war closed, Revere bought a large and handsome mansion in Charter Street, near Hanover, where Revere Place now is, and in this he resided during the remainder of his life.



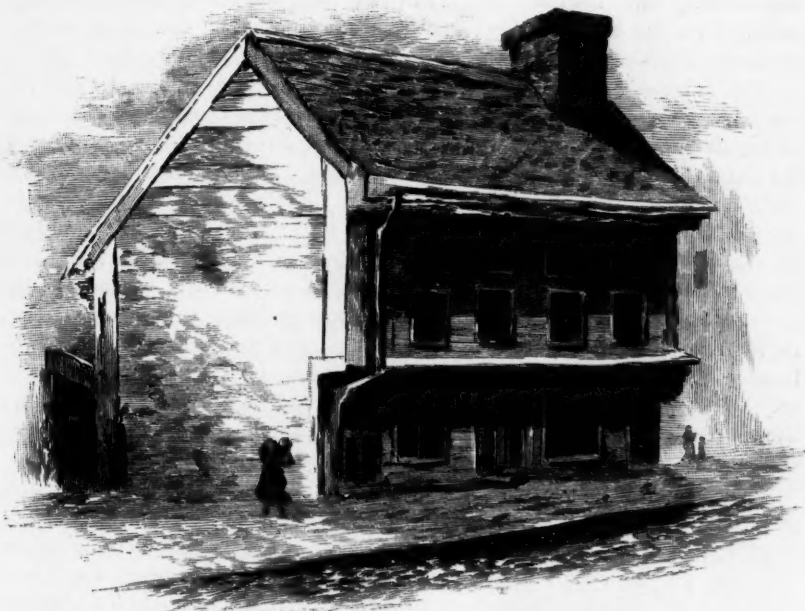
His ancestors were French Huguenots, and wrote the name Rivoire. His grandfather emigrated from St. Foy, in France, to the island of Guernsey, in 1685, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., from whence his father, Apollos, afterward called Paul, came to Boston at the age of thirteen, and learned the trade of a goldsmith; his eldest son, Paul, received his education at the famous Master Tileston's

school. He had a natural taste for drawing, and it was his peculiar business, after learning the same trade as his father, to design and execute all the engravings on the various kinds of silver-plate then manufactured. He made a thorough study of mechanics, the best interests of which, and the improvement of all industrial arts, ever received his most earnest attention. Self-taught, he became a skillful engraver on copper-plate, and many of his engravings are still in existence. One of his earliest productions was the portrait of his preacher friend, Rev. Dr. Mayhew; and among his well-known works in this line is a caricature entitled the "Seventeen Rescinders," and the "Repeal of the Stamp Act." Among his Boston views are the "North Battery," and the "Sconce and Fort Hill," "Boston in 1768, with the landing of the British Troops," and the "Massacre on the Fifth of March, 1770,"\* with portraits of John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and others; and among the least known of his pictures are the "Allegory of the Year, 1765," and "Spanish Treatment at Carthage." The former was imprinted, "Engraved, printed and sold by Paul Revere, Boston." The Spanish Treatment was engraved for a Magazine and did not have that imprint. In 1775, he engraved the plates, made the press, and printed the paper-money ordered by the Provincial Congress, then in session at Watertown. At the time he was one of the four engravers then in America. He was early enrolled among the famous "Sons of Liberty," was one of the foremost in their councils, and was of the large number who dined at the "Liberty Tree," Dorchester, August 14, 1769, an anniversary of the enforced resignation of the stamp distributor. At the age of twenty-one his military life began; he joined the expedition under command of General Winslow, against the French at Crown Point, holding the position of Second-Lieutenant of Artillery, and was stationed at Fort William Henry, on Lake George.

It was just prior to the breaking out of the Revolutionary war that he rendered such peculiar service as a messenger, traveling thousands of miles on his faithful horse, in those troublous times, when railroads and steamboats were unknown. His first important ride in this capacity was in connection with the destruction of the three hundred and forty-two chests of tea in Boston Harbor, December 16, 1773. He was in the councils of those who planned its destruction, and one of the party who boarded and threw the tea into the water. He was also one of the twenty-five who

\* Judge Mellen Chamberlain, Librarian of the Boston Public Library, has in his possession Revere's plan of the scene of the massacre, used in the trial of the British soldiers. It shows the exact position of the troops when they fired, of the citizens who fell, the topography of the streets, and the locality of the buildings around the old State House in a most admirable manner.

nightly guarded the tea after the arrival of the first cargo, November 28. The account of this transaction, drawn up by the Committee of Correspondence, was sent on the 17th to New York and Philadelphia, by Paul Revere. Thomas Newell records in his diary that Revere returned from this mission December 27, bringing word that Governor Tryon had engaged to send the New York tea ship back, and that all the Boston bells were rung the next morning.



PAUL REVERE'S BIRTHPLACE, NORTH SQUARE, BOSTON.

[Engraved from a painting by H. G. Lasky.]

His next journey was in connection with the "Boston Port Bill," which received the royal signature on the 31st of March, 1774, and was printed in the Boston journals on the 10th of May following. "It provided for a discontinuance of the landing and shipping of all merchandise at Boston, or within its harbor." The Committee of Correspondence immediately directed Warren to call a meeting at Faneuil Hall, of representatives from the eight neighboring towns, for the 12th of May; and at a Town-meeting held the next day, it was voted to recommend to the other colonies to unite in a joint resolution to stop all trade, importation and exportation,

with Great Britain and the West Indies, until the "Port Act" should be repealed; and Paul Revere, "the steady, vigorous, sensible and persevering," was chosen as bearer of this union message to the other colonies. He brought back the responses of the different colonies, and it was said, "Nothing can exceed the indignation with which our brethren in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Philadelphia have received this proof of ministerial madness." The effect of this Port Bill was undoubtedly to more closely unite the colonies. "The Port Act," says Bancroft, "had been received on the 10th of May; and, in three weeks, the continent, as one great commonwealth, made the cause of Boston its own."

The English Parliament passed two additional penal acts in May, 1774, "designed to carry into effect the principle that Parliament had the right to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever." This action caused the passage of the famous "Suffolk Resolves," September 9, 1774, drawn by Warren. They were taken by Revere to the Massachusetts delegates in the Continental Congress, together with a letter from Warren. Congress immediately passed a resolve denouncing England's act and indorsing the "Suffolk Resolves;" and this important news, impatiently waited for by the Boston patriots, was brought by Revere, together with personal letters to Warren, and was printed in the newspapers of the 26th. Writing, September 4, to John Lamb, one of the most active of the "Sons of Liberty" in New York, Revere said: "We are in spirits, though in a garrison; the spirit of liberty was never higher than at present; our new-fangled counsellors are resigning their places every day; our justices of the courts, who now hold their commission during the pleasure of His Majesty or the governor, cannot get a jury that will act with them. In short, the Tories are giving way everywhere in our province." He was again employed in October, while the Provincial Congress, of which John Hancock was President, was in session and anxious to hear from the Continental Congress. "Ten days later nothing had transpired from this body; but it was reported that Paul Revere, who went as an 'express from Boston to the delegates,' was waiting in Philadelphia for the result of the determinations of Congress;" also in November he acted in the same capacity.

In December following, and nearly four months before "Warren's message of warning," when

"The fate of a nation was riding that night,"

Revere took another ride of a very important character. As the messenger of the Boston "Committee of Safety" to the Portsmouth "Committee of Safety," on the 13th of December, 1774, he carried the news that England

had prohibited further importation of gunpowder and military stores, and that a large garrison for Fort William and Mary was on its way thither. The result was that the "Sons of Liberty" secreted one hundred barrels of powder under the Durham meeting-house, a few miles distant. That gunpowder was destined to play an important part in our history; for it was taken from its hiding-place, carted to Charlestown in ox-carts, where it arrived just in season to be used at the battle of Bunker Hill. Thus did Paul Revere rouse the New Hampshire patriots to action, as he did, a few months later, those of Massachusetts.

In his letter to Dr. Belknap, dated Boston, January 1, 1798, Revere says: "In the year 1773, I was employed by the Selectmen of the town of Boston to carry the account of the Destruction of the Tea to New York; and afterwards, 1774, to carry their despatches to New York and Philadelphia for calling a Congress; and afterwards to Congress several times. In the fall of 1774, and winter of 1775, I was one of upwards of thirty, chiefly mechanics, who formed ourselves into a committee for the purpose of watching the movements of the British soldiers, and gaining intelligence of the movements of the Tories. We held our meetings at the Green Dragon tavern. We were so careful that our meetings should be kept secret, that every time we met each one swore upon the Bible that they would not discover any of our transactions but to Messrs. Hancock, Adams, Doctors Warren and Church, and one or two more." And of the after-events, he says: "On Tuesday evening, the 18th, it was observed that a number of soldiers were marching towards the bottom of the Common. About 10 o'clock, Dr. Warren sent in great haste for me, and begged that I would immediately set off for



OLD NORTH CHURCH, BOSTON.

[Where the lantern was displayed.]

Lexington, where Messrs. Hancock and Adams were, and acquaint them of the movement, and that it was thought they were the objects. When I got to Dr. Warren's house, I found he had sent an express by land to Lexington—a Mr. William Dawes. The Sunday before, by desire of Dr. Warren, I had been to Lexington, to Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who were at the Rev. Mr. Clark's. I returned at night through Charlestown; there I agreed with a Colonel Conant and some other gentlemen, that if the British went out by water, we would show two lanterns in the North Church steeple; and if by land one, as a signal.\*

After leaving Dr. Warren he made all necessary arrangements for his eventful ride—"that memorable ride, not only the most brilliant but the most important single exploit in our nation's annals"—with his "cry of alarm" which went "to every Middlesex village and farm." He called upon his friend, Robert Newman, the sexton, and desired him to make the signals. Then to his home in North Square, took his boots and surtout, went to one of the wharves at the North End, where he kept his boat,† and was rowed across Charles River by two friends, one of whom was Joshua Bentley, "a little to the eastward, where the *Somerset* man-of-war lay. It was then young flood, the ship was winding, and the moon was rising. They landed me on the Charlestown side."

Of the ride itself, he says: "In Medford I awaked the Captain of the

\* "If the British march  
By land or sea from the town to-night,  
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch  
Of the North Church tower as a signal light,—  
One, if by land, and two, if by sea."

—LONGFELLOW'S "Paul Revere's Ride."

† One of Paul Revere's daughters married Jedediah Lincoln, and her grandson, William O. Lincoln, now living in Hingham, tells me that he has often heard his grandmother relate this incident in the life of her father: "When he had arrived at his boat he found that he had forgotten his spurs; writing a note to that effect he tied it around the neck of his dog and told him to go back to his home; he went, and soon came bringing the spurs." And there are still other traditions in the Lincoln family. One, that just before the destruction of the tea, Paul Revere's wife said, "Children, this is the last cup of tea you will get for a long while." Another, that during the siege of Boston, the family, wishing to leave the city, bought a pass of a chimney-sweep, and, putting the children, together with the grandmother, into a cart, passed safely out.

Samuel Adams Drake, in his *History of Middlesex County*, Vol. I. p. 117, gives this curious tradition as existing in the Revere family: While Paul and his two comrades were on their way to the boat it was suddenly remembered that they had nothing with which to muffle the sound of their oars. One of the two stopped before a certain house at the north end of the town, and made a peculiar signal. An upper window was softly raised, and a hurried colloquy took place in whispers, at the end of which something fell noiselessly to the ground. It proved to be a woollen under-garment, still warm from contact with the person of the little rebel.

minute-men, and after that I alarmed almost every house till I got to Lexington." \*

He arrived at Rev. Mr. Clark's at about midnight. The guard, under Sergeant Munroe, placed around the house, would not admit him, and cautioned him not to make a noise.

"Noise," said Revere; "you'll have noise enough before long. The regulars are coming out."

He was then allowed to knock at the door. Mr. Clark appeared at a window, when Revere said:

"I wish to see Mr. Hancock."

"I do not like to admit strangers into my house so late at night," answered Mr. Clark.

Hancock, hearing these remarks, called out: "Come in, Revere!

We're not afraid of you;" and he went in.

In the course of half an hour Dawes arrived and met Revere at the green. After a short time Revere, Dawes, and a Dr. Prescott, "a high Son of Liberty,"



started for Concord, and soon after Revere and Dawes were taken prisoners by a party of British



\* Boston is soon to honor herself by placing an equestrian statue of Paul Revere in one of her principal squares. The model, by Dallin, has been accepted. It represents him on his fiery steed, just as he is reining in before one of the houses at which he stopped to give the alarm.

"A hurry of hoofs in a village street,  
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk  
in the dark,  
And beneath, from the pebbles, in  
passing, a spark  
Struck out by a steed flying fearless  
and fleet."

1. ROBERT NEWMAN HANGING THE LANTERN IN THE TOWER.
2. EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF REVERE, BY CYRUS E. DALLIN.
3. REVERE CROSSING THE RIVER CHARLES.

soldiers. Prescott jumped his horse over a stone wall, and continued on to Concord, which he reached at about two o'clock, giving the alarm on the way. The officer in charge of Revere asked him several questions, and then all started for Lexington, just before reaching which "the militia fired a volley of guns, which appeared to alarm them very much." The frightened officers left their prisoners and fled toward Boston. Returning to the Rev. Mr. Clark's house, Revere advised Hancock and Adams to leave their hiding-place, which they did, going



**SPANISH treatment at CARTHAGENA.**

SPECIMEN OF THE WORK OF PAUL REVERE. [SEE PAGE 2.]

to a Widow Jones' house in Woburn. The narrative of Mrs. Hannah Winthrop, of Cambridge, gives a vivid description of what she calls "the horrors of that midnight cry." The women of Cambridge were roused by the beat of drums and ringing of bells; they hastily gathered their children together and fled to the outlying farm-houses; seventy or eighty of them were at Fresh Pond, in hearing of the guns at Menotomy, now Arlington; the next day their husbands bade them flee to Andover, whither the college property had been sent, and thither they went, alternately walking and riding over fields where the bodies of the slain lay unburied.

Revere continued to serve as messenger on other occasions after this,



THE "BOSTON MASSACRE," MARCH 5, 1770. [SEE PAGE 2.]

according to his own account. He says: "The same day [the day after the battle of Lexington] I met Dr. Warren. He was President of the Committee of Safety. He engaged me as a messenger to do the out-of-doors business for that committee, which gave me an opportunity of being frequently with them."

The account of the message sent by Warren to Hancock and Adams at Lexington, Sunday, April 16, is told by Revere in a very few words. William W. Wheildon has recently given a new and interesting chapter in the history of the "Concord Fight," wherein he emphasizes the importance of this ride. He tells the story of the Groton soldier, Nathan Corey, and gives the votes passed by the Provincial Congress at Concord on the 17th, deducing therefrom certain conclusions; and when we realize that cannon were taken from Concord to Groton on the 18th, that the minute-men of

Boston June 19. 1792

I Certify that James Pratt, Daniel Warner, Matthew James and Joseph Robbins, were non commission Officers in the Regiment of Artillery commanded by Col Thomas Crafts, and, that they were discharged by me on the 19<sup>th</sup> March 1799. agreeable to an Order of the Council of this State.

Paul Revere

I suppose Col Crafts was told by the Regimental books. where company they were, in what March

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Groton, Acton, Lincoln, Carlisle, and Bedford, took part in the action at Concord, and that minute-men from over thirty of the surrounding towns, some of them many miles away, were at Lexington and in the pursuit of the British troops,\* there seems to be some reason, surely, for thinking that Warren's information to Hancock and Adams, sent by Revere on the 16th, must have been of such a nature as to cause them to disseminate their fears or expectations to those towns earlier than could have been done by the messages of the night of the 18th. Mr. Wheildon says: "One result of this story is particularly worthy of notice, since it shows very clearly what has scarcely ever been considered, or, in fact, alluded to, and that is the importance of the service rendered by Paul Revere in his journey to Lexington, on Sunday prior to the much more celebrated midnight ride which followed it. The story of this ride, quiet and peaceful as it was, has never been immortalized in the lines of the poet; yet it shows very clearly that the preservation of the cannon—nearly all that the colony possessed at that time—and probably the largest portion of the ammunition and stores at Concord, were saved, as we have seen, by the cautionary measures of Dr. Warren, and the essential service of Paul Revere, on the Sunday previous to the fight at Concord bridge." Truly, if this be so there is still more reason to give honor to the untiring courier and unswerving patriot, who may well be called "The Messenger of the Revolution."

Christ Church, more recently known as the "Old North Church," is the oldest public building in Boston, now standing on its original ground, where it was erected in 1723. Within sight of it Paul Revere was born, and almost under its shadow he lived and died. In its graceful steeple, long a landmark for vessels entering Boston Harbor, hangs the first and oldest chime of bells in America; and from

"The highest window in the wall"

were displayed the lights so signally connected with the memorable 19th of April.

"A glimmer and then a gleam of light."

And now this

"Gray spire, that from the ancient street  
The eyes of reverend pilgrims greet,"

has become, in a certain sense, a monument to Revere, for imbedded in the front of the solid masonry of its tower is a large tablet bearing the following inscription:

\* As at present divided and incorporated, fifty-eight towns were more or less actively interested in the events of the 19th of April, 1775.

THE SIGNAL LANTERNS OF  
PAUL REVERE  
DISPLAYED IN THE STEEPLE OF THIS CHURCH  
APR. 18, 1775  
WARNED THE COUNTRY OF THE MARCH  
OF THE BRITISH TROOPS TO  
LEXINGTON AND CONCORD.

This tablet is a block of granite, ten feet three inches in length, six feet four inches in width, and one foot in thickness. It is forty-two feet above the sidewalk, and was placed in position October 17, 1878. It has been truly said that at nearly every hour of the day some one may be seen "looking up at the lofty spire with an expression of deep satisfaction, as if some long-cherished wish had at last been accomplished."

After these many journeys Revere rendered other military service of importance. He was at first major, and afterward lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of artillery raised for the defense of the State after the British evacuated Boston, and part of the time in command of a post in Boston Harbor. The following order explains itself:

Sir.

"Head Q<sup>r</sup>. Boston, 1<sup>st</sup> September, 1776.

"You will immediately repair to and take the Command of Castle Island

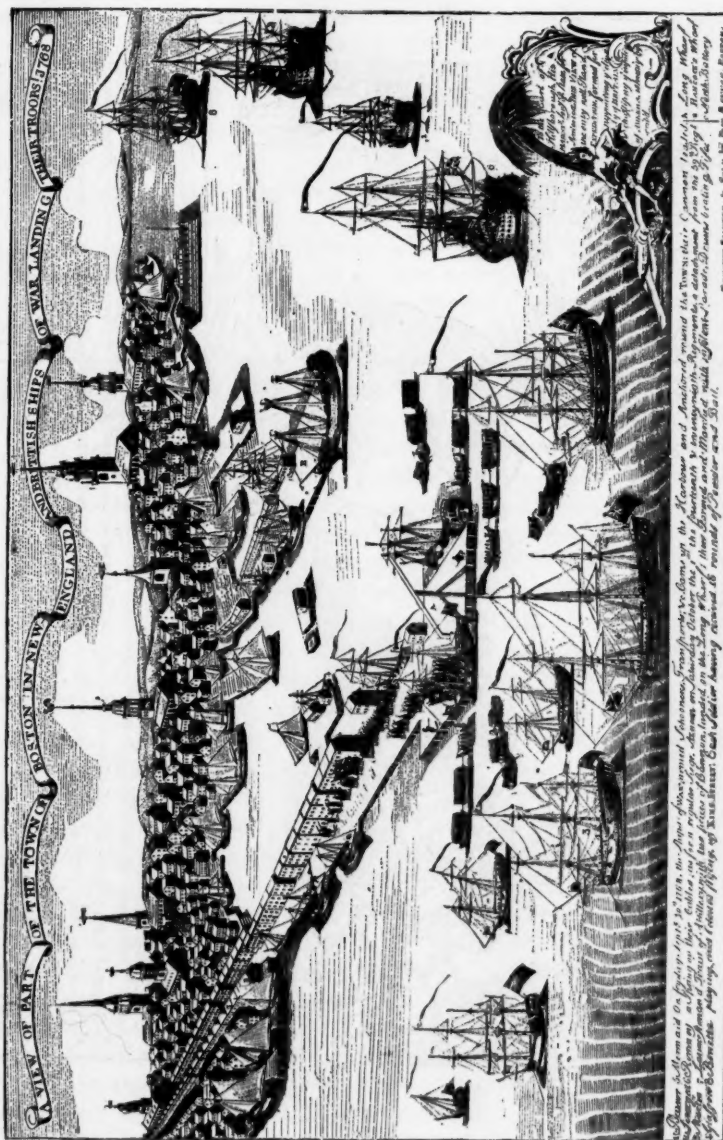
"I am sir, your obed<sup>t</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>

"L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Revere."

"W. Heath, M. Gen<sup>l</sup>.

The cannon at Castle William, now Fort Independence, were disabled by the English forces, and at General Washington's request Colonel Revere repaired the damage by means of a carriage of his own invention. He was also lieutenant-colonel in command of the artillery in the ill-starred Penobscot expedition of 1779. The accompanying autograph document (page 10) is a certificate of discharge issued by him by virtue of this position.

In the "Records of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety," first printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, for July, 1876, occurs the following vote, under date of May 7, 1776: "Voted that Cap<sup>t</sup> William Mackey, Cap<sup>t</sup> John Pulling, M<sup>r</sup> William Powell, Maj<sup>r</sup> Paul Revere, M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hitchburne, Caleb Davis, Esq., Cap<sup>t</sup> Isaac Phillips be and hereby are appointed a Sub Committee to Collect the Names of all Persons who have in any manner acted against or opposed the Rights and Liberties of this Country or who have signed or voted any Address to General Gage approving his errand to this Colony,





or his Administration since the dissolution of the General Court at Salem in 1774.—or to Governor Hutchinson after the arrival of General Gage or to General Howe, or who have signed or promoted any Association for Joining or assisting the Enemies of this Continent; and of such as have fled from this Colony to or with the British Army, Fleet or elsewhere together with their respective Crimes and Evidences or Depositions, which may be procured to prove the same agreeable to a Resolve of the General Court of this Colony bearing date April 19, 1776."

In 1775, after one of his visits to Philadelphia, to which city he had been sent, and where he had been allowed only to go through a powder-mill, but not to examine critically, he established a mill and successfully manufactured that very important article, gunpowder, so much needed by the patriot army.

After the close of the war, in 1783, he opened a foundry at the north end of Boston, on Foster Street, where he cast church bells, brass cannon, and iron ware, which he continued until 1801, when he and his son—Joseph Warren Revere—established the extensive works on the east branch of the Neponset River, at Canton, where they began the very large industry of rolling copper plates, and making of copper bolts and spikes, as well as continuing for several years the casting of bells and cannon. The bells and spikes, drawn from malleable copper by a process then new, was furnished by them for the *Constitution*—"Old Ironsides"—built at Boston, 1794-7. They continued this business until the death of Paul, in 1818, when the son founded the Revere Copper Company, which he successfully managed until he died, October 11, 1868, aged ninety-two years. These works are still in active operation, under the presidency of a grandson of Paul, John Revere, Esq.

When the Massachusetts Constitution was adopted in 1788, Samuel Adams was at first opposed to it; but his adhesion was finally won, and Daniel Webster, in one of his speeches in 1833, thus graphically sketches the incident: "He received the resolution [in favor of the Constitution passed by the leading mechanics at a meeting held in the Green Dragon Inn, which Webster once alluded to as the 'headquarters of the Revolution'] from the hands of Paul Revere, a brass-founder by occupation, a man of sense and character, and of high public spirit, whom the mechanics of Boston ought never to forget. 'How many mechanics,' said Mr. Adams, 'were at the Green Dragon when these resolutions were passed?' 'More, Sir,' was the reply, 'than the Green Dragon could hold.' 'And where were the rest, Mr. Revere?' 'In the streets, Sir.' 'And how many were in the streets?' 'More, Sir, than there are stars in the sky.'"



THE GOLDEN URN.

"a lock of hair, an *invaluable relique* of the Hero and the Patriot, whom their wishes would immortalize," to be preserved in a "Golden Urn." This request was complied with. This urn is three and seven-eighths inches high, and was made by Paul Revere, as was probably the wooden pedestal on which it stands, which has a door with lock and key, and into which the urn is placed when unscrewed from its resting-place. The top unfastens, and the lock of hair is coiled upon the top under glass. This precious relic is jealously and sacredly guarded, being handed down from one Grand Master



SILVER-WARE MADE BY PAUL REVERE.\*

[From drawing by H. G. Laskey.]

\* The tankard weighs 29½ ounces, and belongs to Mrs. William H. Emery, of Newton, Massachusetts. The cup and spoon belong to Henry H. Edes, Esq., of Charlestown, a descendant of Revere. Mr. Edes also has several other articles of silverware made by him.

to another. A companion urn has recently been obtained, which contains a lock of hair belonging to James Abram Garfield.

Of the portraits of Revere, Mr. D. T. V. Huntoon, in an address at Canton, in 1875, says: "Two pictures have been preserved of him; one, taken in the full prime of manhood, by Copley, which, after having lain neglected for many years in an attic in this town, has been finally restored. The other, by Stuart, brings up a venerable face." The earlier painting shows him at a bench, in shirt-sleeves, holding a silver cup in one hand, with engravers' tools at hand. They are both owned by John Revere, and are in his parlors on Commonwealth Avenue. There is still another original portrait of our subject, now in possession of his lineal descendants—the Lincolns of Hingham, Massachusetts. It is a life-size profile, drawn by a French officer, whose name has been lost.



Paul Revere died at Boston, May 10, 1818, aged eighty-four years, and was buried in the Granary Burying Ground. He lived, as we have seen, a long and useful life. At the time of his death he was connected with many philanthropic associations, in all of which he performed honorable service. By industry and economy he acquired property, and was able to educate a large family of children. Yet Paul Revere has no biographer. An allusion to this or that deed, a short sketch here and there, is all, while his eventful career is worthy of a volume. If asked who he was, and what he did, nine persons out of ten would recall only the words of Longfellow:

"Listen, my children, and you shall hear,  
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere."

On the 24th of March, 1871, the General Court incorporated what was known as North Chelsea, as the town of Revere; and thus has Massachusetts perpetuated the name of Paul Revere.

## THOMAS A. HENDRICKS

"I am free at last!" were the last words of Thomas A. Hendricks, Vice-President of the United States, as, on the 25th of November last, he submitted to the universal doom.

Free!—from Ambition's goad, from Envy's sting—free from Life's turmoil, and from human strife.

Peace rests upon that sturdy frame, that massive brow, that strong individual life—once foremost in the forensic arena—wise in council and potent in debate.

The Angel of Death now folds in her resistless arms him whose vigor and strength had outstripped many in Life's journey, who had climbed to

"The slippery tops of human state,

The gilded pinnacles of Fate,"

and there achieved, not only fame and honor, but the regard and love of his fellow-men.

In a city draped in grief, came to the dead his country's Judges, Senators, Generals, and Governors—Federal and State officials of every grade, and a great multitude of simpler humanity, gathered to signify a regret that was heartfelt over one whose life, rough-hewn from the wilderness, with all its strength and power was simple and open—free from dissimulation, from pride, from fear. They gathered to signify a lasting respect for him who had faithfully fulfilled his duties, as servant of the State; and who, in laudably seeking for power and for place, never lost his manhood or his truth. More sensible of public duty than eager in his private aims, he ever had courage to express and consistently to maintain his principles; and sought no eminence, except what might be reached with honor and retained with self-respect.

No man has ever charged him with misfeasance—no stain appears on his record. Exemplary in youth, his life followed the beginning with self-reliance and consistency; and his mature years developed and displayed a character almost *Roman* in its attributes, and yet softened and illumined by gentleness, by courtesy, by sympathy.

Although fighting fiercely and indomitably in the battle of life, he experienced in his daily course, as was beautifully said at his grave, "the joy of faith, the patience of hope, and the comfort of love."

Passed from the nation's eye, but not its memory, another of the great representatives of American thought and life has left the political arena—whose exemplar as a leader should incline statesmen to lofty, to pure, and



*J. A. Hendrick*

to instructive thought; and whose record is a fitting guide to the youth of his native land.

"Statesman, yet friend to truth—in soul sincere,  
In action faithful, and in honor clear.  
Honor unchanged—a principle professed,  
Fixed to one side—but mod'rate to the rest."

Death came not unexpected, but he came unattended by either fear or remorse.

A clear conscience, a manly courage, a mind at peace, disarmed the sting, and spread calm over the tragic scene.

Loving tears around gave evidence of a lasting sorrow, while

"Past hope of safety, 'twas his latest care,  
Like falling Cæsar, decently to die."

*James W. Gaisard*

## OPERATIONS BEFORE FORT DONELSON

" . . . There were evidently from 2,000 to 3,000 men there . . . I think two iron-clad gunboats would make short work of Fort Henry."—*Brigadier-General C. F. Smith's report to Grant of a reconnoissance of Fort Henry, made without orders January 22, 1862.* "Commanding-General Grant and myself are of opinion that Fort Henry on the Tennessee River can be carried with four iron-clad gunboats and troops to permanently occupy. Have we your authority to move for that purpose when ready?"—*Flag-officer Foote to Major-General Halleck, January 28, 1862.* "With permission I will take Fort Henry on the Tennessee and establish and hold a large camp there."—*Grant to Halleck, January 28, 1862.* "Make your preparations to take and hold Fort Henry. I will send you written instructions by mail."—*Halleck to Grant, January 30, 1862.*

The above extracts show that the reconnoissance made by Brigadier-General C. F. Smith on the 22d of January, 1862, when he had a few hours of leisure, precipitated the campaign against the Confederate front, which extended from Columbus to Bowling Green, and in a little over two weeks gave to the Union arms Forts Henry and Donelson with a large number of prisoners of war. To give an idea of the value of the report it is only necessary to state that Brigadier-General Charles F. Smith was an officer of thirty-seven years' continuous service in the army, was especially skilled in the service of artillery, distinguished in time of peace, and always brilliant in time of war. His reputation was well known in the navy, and in the estimation of the majority of West Point graduates, contemporaries of Grant, he was held to be the first soldier in the army. Of him Sherman says that at that time, March, 1862, "his reputation as a soldier was simply perfect."\* A report from such an officer must therefore have great weight. Owing to the movement thus begun, Fort Henry surrendered to the navy on the 6th of February, after a bombardment of one hour and fifteen minutes, the infantry brigade escaping from the fort before the surrender, and marching to Fort Donelson, where after a few days they were pursued and captured by the force under General Grant. The following recital of operations from the fall of Fort Henry to the capture of Fort Donelson, embracing a period of ten days, is drawn almost entirely from the official record of the *War of the Rebellion*—from the report of General C. F. Smith (unpublished), from his diary, and the statements of General Smith's adjutant-general, who speaks of what he saw and heard.

On the 6th of February, General Grant, in reporting the fall of Fort

\* Private letter from General W. T. Sherman, dated April 27, 1885.



GENERAL C. F. SMITH.

*[From a photograph by Brady, in possession of his daughter, Mrs. Marshall Oliver.]*

Henry, says: "I shall take and destroy Fort Donelson on the 8th and return to Fort Henry with the forces employed, unless it looks feasible to occupy that place with a small force that could retreat easily to the main body. I shall regard it more in the light of an advance guard than as a permanent post. . . . Owing to the intolerable state of the roads no transportation will be taken to Fort Donelson and but little artillery, and that with double teams." At that time (February 8) General Albert Sidney Johnston reports the garrison at Fort Donelson at "about 7,000 men, not well armed or drilled, except Heiman's regiment and the regiments of Floyd's command." The same day (February 8) Grant reports to Cullum, Halleck's chief of staff, at Cairo: "*At present we are perfectly locked in by high water and bad roads, and prevented from acting offensively as I should like to do. . . . I contemplated taking Fort Donelson to-day with infantry and cavalry alone, but all my troops may be kept busily engaged in saving what we now have from the rapidly rising waters. . . . The railroad bridge is disabled.*" The bridge across the Tennessee was meant. Grant to Foote, Fort Henry, February 10, 1862: "*I have been waiting very patiently for the return of the gunboats under Commander Phelps, to go around on the Cumberland, whilst I marched my land forces across to make a simultaneous attack upon Fort Donelson. I feel that there should be no delay in this matter, and yet I do not feel justified in going without some of your gunboats to co-operate. Can you not send two boats from Cairo immediately up the Cumberland? . . . Please let me know your determination in this matter and start as soon as you like. I will be ready to co-operate at any moment.*"

Extract from General Field Orders, No. 7, issued by General Grant on same day as above letter to Foote:

"The troops from Forts Henry and Heiman will hold themselves in readiness to move on Wednesday, the 12th inst., at as early an hour as practicable. Neither tents nor baggage will be taken except such as the troops can carry. Brigade and regimental commanders will see that all their men are supplied with *forty rounds* of ammunition in their cartridge-boxes and *two days' rations* in their haversacks. Three days' additional rations may be put in wagons to follow the expedition, but will not impede the progress of the main column. . . ."

General Order, No. 8, same date, brigades seven regiments, a battalion of sharpshooters and one of cavalry, which must have been reinforcements received after the fall of Fort Henry. On the 9th of February, Cullum telegraphs the sending from Cairo of two additional regiments. As Grant arrived at Fort Henry with 15,000 men, his force at this time was probably about 23,000 men.

Cullum to Halleck, Cairo, February 11: "One armored gunboat gone from Tennessee to Cumberland and three unarmored to follow. Three armored leave here to-night" (Tuesday) "instead of Thursday" (13th) "for same destination. . . ."

General Field Orders, No. 11, dated Fort Henry, February 11: "The troops designated in General Field Orders, No. 7, will move to-morrow as rapidly as possible in the following order:

"One brigade of the first division" (McClelland's) "will move by the telegraph road directly upon Fort Donelson, halting for further orders at a distance of two miles from the fort. The other brigades of the first division will move by the Dover or Ridge road and halt at the same distance from the fort, and throw out troops so as to form a continuous line between the two wings. The two brigades of the second division" (C. F. Smith's) "now at Fort Henry will follow as rapidly as practicable by the



ROAD, AND RELATIVE POSITIONS OF FORT HENRY AND FORT DONELSON.

Dover road, and will be followed by the troops from Fort Heiman as fast as they can be ferried across the river. One brigade of the second division should be thrown into Dover to cut off all retreat by the river if found practicable to do so. The force of the enemy being so variously reported, it is impossible to give exact details of attack, but the necessary orders will be given on the field."

Another reason for not giving more detailed orders was perhaps that no reconnoissance had been made to within sight of the intrenchments at Fort Donelson, and nothing was known of the strength or position of the works.

The order of march as given above would have placed C. F. Smith, commanding the second division, on the right, and McClelland on the left. The force moved out on the 12th, and arrived with General C. F. Smith on the left in front of Fort Donelson, while McClelland advanced, covering as much ground as possible to the right, yet not sufficient to invest the place by over a mile.\* General C. F. Smith, in his report, says:

\* McClelland's right rested at about the point P on the map.

"Arriving on the evening of February 12th at (a) short distance from the outworks of the enemy on his right, the investment of the place was partially commenced by throwing the Fourth Brigade on the left and the Third Brigade on its right, joining the first division on the right, with the First (McArthur's) Brigade in reserve, with a battery in advance on the road leading to Dover and Fort Donelson." In McClernand's report to General Grant he gives in detail the march of this division to within two miles of the outer intrenchment, and after speaking of a skirmish with the enemy's cavalry, he says: "Coming up shortly after (about two o'clock P.M.), you" (General Grant) "advised me of the approach of the second division under command of General C. F. Smith, which you had directed to be disposed on my left, in front of the right of the enemy's works, directing me to continue my advance so as to cover the left of the enemy's works in the direction of the town of Dover." McClernand's three brigades were posted on the right of the second division in the order of their numbers, the first under Colonel Oglesby, on the extreme right and covering the road from Dover to Paris. Colonel Oglesby says: "And at sunset by a flank movement moved the rest of the brigade over the ridge to the Paris road, thus occupying the last main outlet from it and the town of Dover by nightfall."

In this position the army bivouacked. C. F. Smith says: "Early on the morning of the 13th the regiments were posted in order of investment within easy cannon range of the enemy's line of defense. . . . The ground covered by the division was thickly wooded and exceedingly hilly and broken; the enemy's works were on the highest ground in the vicinity; he had an infantry breastwork in front of his main line (vulgarly called rifle-pits), crested with logs from under which they fired; the whole strengthened by a wide abattis from felled timber of large size. Ignorant of the ground, we had to feel our way cautiously. As soon as the regiments were measurably in position, orders were given to brigade-commanders to cover our front of attack with as many skirmishers as possible, well supported by their regiments, keeping a strong reserve—to press forward as steadily and rapidly as the ground would permit, and if the opportunity offered to assault with the bayonet. . . ." During this time three batteries were posted and opened on the enemy with effect, "their long-range guns sending shells into the fort and causing sharp loss and great moral effect." The enemy were not idle with cannon and musket, for General Smith says: "Our casualties were numerous on this day. The report of the different commanders, partially confirmed by my personal observation, satisfied me that an assault on almost any part of the

entire front covered by us was not practicable without an enormous sacrifice of life. At nightfall the skirmishers were recalled and the troops ordered to remain in position. . . ."

avoid everything calculated to bring on a general engagement "until otherwise directed." About noon, however, the general's zeal seemed to get the better of his sense of subordination, and he says: "My right being now engaged in threatening demonstrations" (that is, extending itself toward the Cumberland River above Dover), "and within short range of the enemy's outer works, and the enemy's infantry opposite our right having been thrown into confusion as already mentioned, I deemed the opportunity favorable for storming Redan No. 2, which lay in front of the Second Brigade, and in a position to annoy our forces yet advancing, and which afforded a cover from which to dash upon my line at an exposed and comparatively weak point." The enemy having been thrown into confusion on his right, he felt himself justified in disobeying orders by an assault on the outworks in front of his center, which was from its position the strongest point of the whole line. The story of the assault is the sickening one of brave men slaughtered through the inexperience of commanders. The column, stopped from advancing by the abatis, had direct and cross fires poured in on it till the leaders found it necessary to retire to sheltered positions. There is a grim gleam of the comic in the description of the close of this fight, in which General McClelland says: "At this critical moment, if the enemy had been diverted by an attack on the left, and also from the river by the gunboats, it is *probable* the redan would have been taken." Colonel Morrison, commanding the assaulting forces, says: "We had advanced to within less than fifty paces of the enemy's works without his offering any opposition, and were making our way slowly but surely when our skirmishers commenced drawing the fire of the enemy who was *undoubtedly waiting for us*." The colonel and his command behaved gallantly and the loss was severe. From Grant's report we read: "The following day, the 13th, owing to the non-arrival of the gunboats and reinforcements sent by water, no attack was made, but the investment was extended on the flanks of the enemy and drawn closer to his works with skirmishing all day." The night of the 13th was bitterly cold, with sleet and snow; the men could not light fires, and their sufferings must have been excessively severe.

Early on the morning of the 14th General L. Wallace, from Fort Henry, with an improvised division, came and filled up the dangerously weak place between the first and second divisions caused by undue prolongation of the line to the right. Toward nightfall the extreme right was strengthened by a brigade from the second division, and the *investment* was then nearly complete. Of this advance toward the enemy's left, Lieutenant-Colonel McPherson, chief engineer, says: "After the arrival of General Wallace's

division, General McClernand extended **his** still further to the right, the object being, if possible, to bring some of our **guns** to bear upon the river above the town of Dover; but the advance in that **direction** had to be made with the utmost caution, as the ground was very much broken, without roads, and covered with an almost impenetrable growth of small oak . . . the Confederates were posted on a range of hills varying from fifty to eighty feet in height, with batteries placed on the commanding points . . . in front of their defenses they had chopped down the smaller trees about breast-high and leaving them attached to the stumps, . . . thus making a most difficult obstacle to get over."

Though on the 8th General Grant had contemplated taking Fort Donelson with infantry and cavalry alone, the correspondence and his order given on the 13th "to avoid everything calculated to bring on a general engagement," would go to show that he was waiting for the attack by the gunboats under Foote, from which he expected similar results to that at Fort Henry, and which General Johnston also expected when he wrote to Benjamin, February 8th: "I think the gunboats of the enemy will probably take Fort Donelson without the necessity of employing their land force in co-operation, as seems to have been done at Fort Henry."

On the 14th, at three o'clock P.M., Flag Officer Foote, "with four iron-clad and two wooden gunboats," made an attack on the water batteries at Fort Donelson, and was handsomely repulsed "after a severe fight of an hour and a half," during which all the iron-clad gunboats were disabled. C. F. Smith says of this day: "The same system of annoyance was kept up, but under the order of the commanding general to a more limited extent. During the course of the day I made a personal reconnoissance of the ground on our extreme left and satisfied myself that the only apparent practicable point of assault was in that quarter, the enemy's extreme right being protected by an impassable slough, which fact was communicated to the commanding general." This ended the fighting for the day both on land and water.\* The night of the 14th, like the previous night, as C. F. Smith says, was "inclement as before, with the same discomfort." On the 14th, General Grant sends several dispatches, and among them this to Halleck: "Our troops now invest the works at Fort Donelson. The enemy have been driven into their works at every point. A heavy abattis

\* It would seem, from the official map of the ground made under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson, of the Engineer Corps, that if General Smith had been taken into consultation before the naval attack was made, he would have found a position for a battery which would have enfiladed the principal water battery and have made it untenable during that attack.

all around prevents my *carrying the works by storm at present*. I feel every confidence of success, and the best feeling prevails among the men." And this to Cullum at Cairo: "... Appearances now indicate that we will have a protracted siege here. The ground is very broken, and the fallen timbers extending far out from the breastworks, *I fear the result of an attempt to carry the place by storm with raw troops*. I feel great confidence, however, of ultimately reducing the place. As yet I have had no batteries thrown up, hoping with the aid of the gunboats to obviate the necessity. . . ." In his report Grant says: "After these mishaps" (to the navy) "I concluded to make the investment of Fort Donelson as perfect as possible, and partially fortify and *await repairs to the gunboats*." Foote, in his report of the affair of the gunboats (dated 15th), says he went into action with six gunboats, four of which were iron-clad, and two wooden ones, and "on consultation with General Grant and my own officers, as my services here, until we can repair damages by bringing up a competent force from Cairo to attack the fort, are much less required than they are at Cairo, I shall proceed to that point with two of the disabled boats, leaving the two others here to protect the transports, and with all dispatch prepare the mortar boats and *Benton* with other boats to make an effectual attack on Fort Donelson. I have sent the *Tyler* to the Tennessee River to render impassable the bridge."

After the repulse of the navy on the 14th, therefore, the army and navy leaders were agreed that there was nothing to do but await new gun and mortar boats and endeavor to keep the enemy from escaping. As for carrying the works by assault, General Grant feared to attempt that, and as for a siege proper, the whole of the east bank of the Cumberland was open to the enemy from which to receive supplies, and Grant's army had no train, no intrenching tools, and his heaviest guns were twenty-four-pounder howitzers and twenty-pounder Parrot rifled pieces. Railroads led to within fifteen miles of the garrison, giving great power of concentration to the rebels. The position, to say the least, was one to bring on serious thought and prompt action, if the strength of the Confederates had not been greatly overestimated. The transformation of the next day was marvelous, even for the uncertainties of war to bring about.

Let us now turn to the Confederate side of the intrenchments to see what was going on there during these three days of investment, including the defeat of the navy under the gallant Foote. On the 9th, three days before Grant moved from Fort Henry, General Pillow assumed command of the Confederate forces in and around Fort Donelson, having under his command Buckner's division, which had but just arrived from Clarksville,

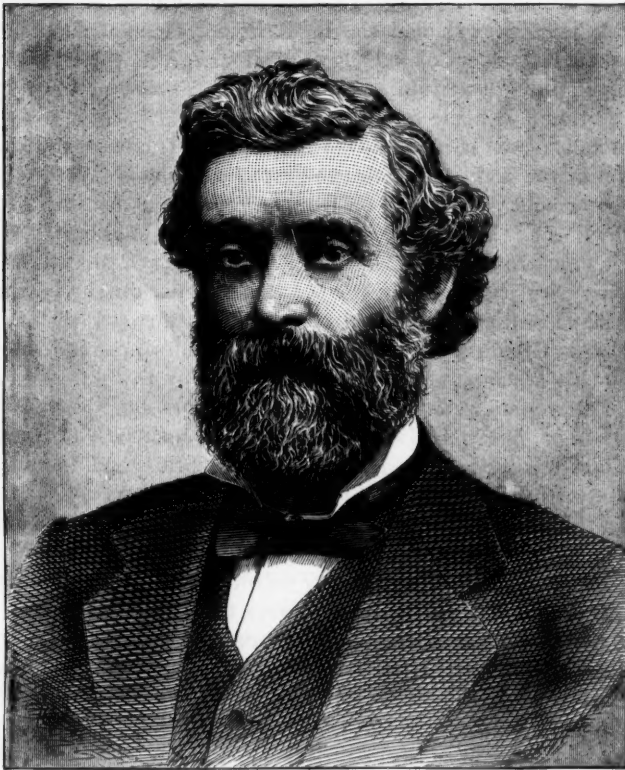
and was reported, February 1st, as 8,100 present for duty, and thirteen additional regiments and two field batteries, forming a second division under General B. R. Johnson, making in all probably a force of about 15,000 men. On the 10th Major Gilmer, Confederate engineer, reports to Colonel Mackall (General A. S. Johnston's adjutant-general): "With the preparations that are now being made here, I feel much confidence that we can make a successful resistance against a land attack. The attack by water will be more difficult to meet, still I hope for success here also. . . . We are making herculean efforts to strengthen our parapets. . . ." On the 10th General Pillow reports to Floyd, commanding at Clarksville (which was on the Cumberland River, about thirty miles above Dover, and also on the railroad running from Bowling Green to Columbus): "I am pushing the work on my river batteries day and night; also on my field works and defensive line in the rear. . . . Upon one thing you may rest assured, viz., that I will never surrender the position, and, with God's help, I mean to maintain it."

On the morning of the 13th, General Floyd arrived at Fort Donelson from Clarksville with the remainder of his division and three field batteries and assumed command of the rebel forces. Major Gilmer, an accomplished officer of engineers, and then in the rebel service, reports the failure of the assault ordered by McClernand on the 13th and the attack made by the navy on the 14th, and says of the latter: "Our batteries were uninjured and not a man in them killed." He further states: "It was evident, however, from the movements of numerous bodies of troops around our lines, that the enemy had resolved to invest us, and when prepared, to attack us in overwhelming numbers, or press us to a capitulation by cutting off supplies and reinforcements. Generals Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner met in council soon after dark (14th); I was present. After an interchange of views, it was decided to attack the enemy on his extreme right and right center at five o'clock in the morning. It was believed that the enemy might be thrown back, and an opportunity secured to withdraw in safety our forces; that possibly greater advantages might be gained by the attack, which, if well followed up on our part, would result in disaster to the invader. This being decided upon, the brigade commanders were at once sent for, and the positions for their respective commands in the order of attack assigned. Brigadier-General Pillow was to direct the movement against the right of the enemy; Brigadier-General Buckner that against the right center, advancing along Wynn's Ferry road." While the preparations were being made for this attack, we can return to the Union army and see what was being done or to be done there.

General McClernand in his report says: "The morning of the 15th dawned clear and *hopeful*, and both officers and men, unshaken by another night of intense suffering, stood to their arms ready for the work of an eventful day. . . . At early dawn this morning he" (the enemy) "was discovered rapidly moving in large masses to my extreme right." . . . "At the moment of my attack (six o'clock A.M.) the forces under my command were formed in line of battle as follows: Colonel McArthur's brigade, consisting of the Forty-first, Twelfth and Ninth" (all Illinois regiments) "in the same order with two ten-pounder Parrot guns, on the extreme right; Colonel Oglesby's brigade, comprising the Eighteenth, Eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth and Thirty-first" (Illinois regiments), "next on the left . . . the Eighth and Twenty-ninth" (Illinois regiments) "supporting Schwartz's battery of four guns, posted in their front; Colonel Wallace's brigade, comprising the Eleventh, Twentieth, Forty-eighth, Forty-fifth, Forty-ninth and Seventeenth" (Illinois regiments), "next on the left; McAllister's two twenty-four pounder howitzers and a section of the Missouri battery were posted under cover of the earthworks before referred to, in front of the Forty-fifth and Forty-eighth; Taylor's battery, of four six-pounders and two twelve-pounder howitzers, was posted in front of the Seventeenth; Dresser's battery of three James rifled six-pounders was posted on the extreme left in front of Redan No. 2; Schwartz's battery had three pieces pointing toward Redan No. 3, and *one piece disposed to protect the rear.*"

Colonel Oglesby commanding the first brigade of McClernand's division makes a very clear report on the events of the early morning, and says: "Going to the extreme right, where the attack was made by their infantry, I found that Colonel McArthur" (commanding the brigade borrowed from the second division) "had thrown forward the Ninth regiment on my line of battle, which was now hotly engaged." (This was at six o'clock A.M.) "Going out into the open field" (on the extreme right), "I found the Forty-first . . . in line, but *some distance from the right of the Ninth, with two companies of skirmishers* . . . still further to the right and covering the entire ground by which the enemy could escape. *These two companies were also then engaged.*" The description of the position of this right brigade is given to show that the investment was never thoroughly completed, the extreme right not being held by a force sufficient to withstand a serious assault. The engagement quickly spread through the three right regiments of Colonel Oglesby's brigade, and at the expiration of an hour, finding that Colonel McArthur had withdrawn his brigade, Colonel Oglesby made new dispositions of his troops and continued the fight for

three hours longer, when his brigade was withdrawn to the left of the division for a supply of ammunition. Colonel McArthur (extreme right) says, "15th, at daylight were surrounded by the enemy, who opened on us a heavy fire of musketry, at the same time *outflanking us by one regiment on our right.*" Moving to the right, he was again outflanked on the right,



COLONEL THOMAS J. NEWSHAM, ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF GENERAL SMITH'S DIVISION.

[Engraved from a Photograph.]

and then, partly from want of ammunition, withdrew his brigade, as he says, some three hundred yards to the rear, where he remained until forced again to fall back by the retirement of Oglesby's command. Colonel Cruft, commanding the first brigade of the third division, was sent to reinforce Colonel Oglesby, and was driven back behind the Wynn's Ferry road, where

he was attacked by a portion of Buckner's command and forced again to retire until the enemy, as the colonel says, drew off . . . and commenced retreating to his (*the colonel's*) right and rear. Colonel W. H. L. Wallace, commanding the brigade on the left of Oglesby, after fighting with varying result, fell back as the enemy gained ground to the left of the line, thus uncovering the Wynn's Ferry road, by which, under the agreement at the rebel council of war held the night before, General Buckner was to march to the attack. Colonel Oglesby alone gives the time which he was engaged, fixing it at four and a half hours, so that at least by eleven o'clock the time had come for Buckner's attack.

The details of the battle as given by the most trustworthy Confederate authorities in the main agree with the reports of the Union officers as to the general result. Pillow led off at five o'clock and became engaged in half an hour with the extreme right—the field was stubbornly contested, but the Union troops were persistently pressed back till a junction was effected between the forces of Pillow and Buckner on the Wynn's Ferry road, when, according to Gilmer, Buckner moved forward with his division to the attack. Gilmer says: "The enemy being now pressed in front of his center by this advance, and on his right flank by the pursuing forces of General Pillow's division, retreated rapidly for some distance toward his left wing; but receiving heavy reinforcements, the pursuit was checked, and finally the retreating foe made a firm stand, opening from a field battery strongly supported by masses of infantry. General Pillow says: "In this order of battle, it was easy to be seen that if my attack was successful and the enemy was routed, his retreat would be along his line of investment toward the Wynn's Ferry encampment. . . . In other words, my success would roll the enemy's forces in retreat over upon General Buckner, when by his attack in flank and rear we could cut the enemy up and put him completely to rout. Having . . . fairly engaged the enemy, we fought for nearly two hours before I made any decided advance upon him." The ammunition then began to fail with the Union troops. "He contested the field most stubbornly." . . . It . . . "consumed the day till twelve o'clock to drive the enemy as far back as the center, where General Buckner's command was to flank him." Not hearing from Buckner, Pillow left the field to ascertain the cause of delay. "I there found the command of General Buckner massed behind the ridge within the work taking shelter from the enemy's artillery on the Wynn's Ferry road." . . . Buckner was directed to move at once to attack the battery by passing to its right. Before the move was executed, Forrest had charged with his cavalry and captured the battery. Buckner then joined

forces, and the fight continued for nearly an hour. Then comes this statement from Pillow: "The position of the enemy being covered by our joint forces, I called off the further pursuit after seven and a half hours of continuous and bloody conflict. After the troops were called off from the pursuit, *orders were immediately given to the different commands to form and retire to their original position in the intrenchments.*" This statement as to this most extraordinary order is corroborated by most of the high officers, and also as to its having been given about one o'clock. The force which Major Gilmer says held so firmly to its ground was Colonel Thayer's brigade of the third division, with two additional regiments in reserve. Gilmer says: "About one o'clock an order was given by General Pillow, recalling our forces to the defensive lines. Our forces having returned, they were ordered to the positions they occupied the day previous." . . . Floyd, who was in command, made a report February 27th, when every detail was fresh in his memory. He says: "During my absence" (to the right) "and from some misapprehension, I presume of the previous order given" (for Buckner to hold the Wynn's Ferry road), "Brigadier-General Pillow ordered Brigadier-General Buckner to leave his position on the Wynn's Ferry road, and to resume his position in the trenches on the right."

General Buckner says that after occupying the road by which the rebel army was to escape, General Pillow sent reiterated orders to return to his position in the intrenchments on the extreme right. General Bushrod R. Johnson, a graduate of West Point, commanded the rebel left wing during the fight on the morning of the 15th. His services were marked with intelligence and coolness, as his report is with clearness.

General B. R. Johnson says: "At about four A.M. all the brigades designated were formed in columns of regiments on the *left of and outside of our trenches.* . . . At early dawn the column moved forward under the orders of General Pillow, who led them, and very soon engaged the enemy with small-arms. Somewhat later Lieutenant Perkins opened fire upon the enemy from his artillery posted in the trenches. Colonel Baldwin's brigade formed the right of the attacking force and was first to open fire. Colonels Wharton's and McCausland's brigades formed a line on the left of Colonel Baldwin. Colonel Simonton's brigade was the next to advance in the following order, from right to left, viz.: Twenty-third Mississippi, Eighth Kentucky, Seventh Texas and First Mississippi. When the head of this brigade had advanced about half-way up the hill occupied by the enemy, the Twenty-third Mississippi was brought forward and put into action. The Eighth Kentucky Regiment was then met by a heavy fire, which caused it

to form in line of battle under cover of a hollow to the right of the Twenty-third Mississippi, from which it moved into action under a heavy fire from the enemy. The Seventh Texas and First Mississippi moved forward together and came into action on the right of the Eighth Kentucky. This brigade being heavily pressed by the enemy, the Thirty-sixth Virginia Regiment was brought up to its left and put into action so as to take the enemy in the flank. The left brigade" (on our extreme right), "commanded by Colonel Drake, I placed in position forming a handsome line and pressed it forward to the attack. . . ." In this movement the last brigade was on the outer end of the radius and had much farther to march, and General Johnson continues: "I found, therefore, ample occupation in pressing forward the left wing, keeping a regular, well-directed line, and in guarding the left flank. . . . Colonel Drake's brigade, under its very gallant, steady and efficient commander, moved almost constantly under my eye, and when necessary at my command. It moved in admirable order, preserving in a perfect manner a regular well-connected line, almost constantly under fire, driving the enemy slowly from hill to hill until about one P.M., when we reached a position nearly opposite the center of the left wing of our trenches. Here, observing the enemy in force in front and no troops supporting us on our right, I sent an aid-de-camp to ask for reinforcements, and received an order to report in person to the commanding general within our defensive works. Upon hazarding the suggestion *that the enemy in front of Colonel Drake's brigade should be attacked*, it was after a slight discussion ordered by General Floyd that this brigade should for a time be displayed before the enemy, and that the other brigades should take their positions in the rifle-pits. Having duly disposed of Colonel Drake's brigade according to orders, I returned in person to the intrenchments at about 800 yards distant. Very soon I found that the enemy had advanced and engaged this brigade. After some personal examination of the enemy, and after learning that the right wing under General Buckner had called for reinforcements from the left, rendering it perhaps injudicious to send out more of the troops from the rifle-pits, I directed Colonel Forrest with a portion of his cavalry to give aid to Colonel Drake, if necessary and practicable. Colonel Forrest soon returned and reported to me that he had advised Colonel Drake to fall back. Yet the enemy were finally driven back in gallant style by the brigade, with heavy loss to them and without the loss of a single man on our side. Having nearly exhausted his ammunition, Colonel Drake fell back with his brigade into the rifle-pits. Thus ended the conflict on the left wing on February 15th, the enemy having been driven back at every point where we had engaged him, with heavy losses."

This long extract from General B. R. Johnson's report of March 4, '62, is given because it sets forth so clearly the whole of the fighting on our extreme right, and gives the condition and position of the Confederate left wing at the time when the order was given by Pillow to retire within the intrenchments.

On turning to General Lew Wallace's report of this day, we find that, "Some fugitives from the battle came crowding up the hill in rear of my own line bringing unmistakable signs of disaster. Captain Rawlins was conversing with me at the time, when a mounted officer galloped down the road shouting: 'We are cut to pieces!' The result was very perceptible. To prevent a panic among the regiments of my Third Brigade, I ordered Colonel Thayer to move on by the right flank. He promptly obeyed. Going in advance of the movement myself, I met portions of the regiments of General McClernand's division coming back in excellent order, conducted by their brigade commanders, Colonels Wallace, Oglesby and McArthur, all calling for more ammunition, want of which was the cause of their misfortune. . . . There was no time to await orders, *and no one from whom to receive them.* My Third Brigade had to be thrust in between our retiring forces and the advancing foe. Accordingly, I conducted Colonel Thayer's command up the road to where the ridge dips toward the Confederate works, and directed the colonel to form a new line of battle at a right angle with the old one. . . . Scarcely had this formation been made when the enemy attacked, coming up the road and through the shrubs and trees on both sides of it, and making the battery and the First Nebraska the principal points of attack. . . . They alone repelled the charge."

This was the attack made by Buckner, and though his story and Gilmer's differ from General Wallace's as to the outcome, yet it is clear that Buckner held the Wynn's Ferry road till ordered back by Pillow, and was not followed from the field into the intrenchments while obeying the order. The commander of the brigade making the assault and the commanding officers of the regiments of the brigade, Third, Eighteenth and Thirty-second Tennessee regiments, all concur in stating that they left the field and were not followed. Taking now Oglesby's time given for his reformation on the left of the division of McClernand as correct, and as at about eleven o'clock, we have the attack by Buckner on Thayer's brigade as occurring before noon. We have now followed through the various reports the Union troops in their retreats from the right to behind the only brigade General Wallace had on the investing lines, have seen the value of his disposition of that brigade for the new condition of affairs, and the result of the assault made on

the brigade by Buckner's troops. The order from Pillow has been generally promulgated and is being obeyed. This brings a lull in the fight of somewhat over an hour. We can now compare the original intentions of the enemy with the results obtained. The attack was made for the purpose of opening a route of escape to Charlotte and so to Nashville, with the further purpose, in case of great success, of pursuing it to a complete rout of the forces under General Grant. By noon the road to Charlotte was open and more than half\* of the Union army driven back with more or less demoralization in the ranks. The force with which the attack was made was far superior to the force which received the attack. At noon Wallace put in his last brigade and sent to C. F. Smith to inform him of the situation. The attacking force amounted to nearly the entire Confederate force, for very few troops were left in the lines. Had the attack on Wallace been made with the whole force outside the rebel works, and with the vigor which characterized that of the early part of the day, the brigade would have been enveloped and literally taken off its feet, leaving then only the three brigades of C. F. Smith to contend with, and such of the other troops as might have filled their cartridge-boxes and stomachs, for both were failing, as the army had started on the 12th with forty rounds of ammunition and two days' rations, and the half of the 15th was now spent. The conclusion from the position is for every person to draw for himself. Happily that dangerous state did not arrive. Pillow's order to retire within the intrenchments to the original positions saved us from any experiments in that direction. As for the order itself, it stands alone in the history of battles, so far as I know, and the mind is so lost in wonder at it as to be unable to grapple with it in criticism. The blood shed that day by the Confederate troops was given away in sound and smoke. Far worse than that, as will be seen when the remaining division of the Union army starts to its feet under the orders of the veteran who commanded it.

General Wallace, in his report, says: "About three o'clock" (it must have been at least an hour earlier) "General Grant rode up the hill and ordered an advance and attack on the enemy's left while General Smith attacked their right." General Wallace took a fresh brigade belonging to C. F. Smith's division and one of his own which had been in the fight under McClernand and made the assault on Drake's brigade, which we have seen from Johnson's report had been left out by itself. General Wallace says that this attack drove the rebel regiments three-quarters of a mile, when

\* McClernand had three brigades, C. F. Smith four, and Wallace two, making nine in all. The defeated troops were composed of McClernand's three brigades, one from C. F. Smith's division, and one from that of Wallace, or five in all.

about five o'clock he received an order to retire his column as a new plan of operations was in contemplation for the next day.

In General L. Wallace's account of the battle as given in the *Century Magazine* for December, 1884, he says: during this lull in the fighting, "General Grant rode up to where General McClernand and I were in conversation. . . . Proceeding at once to business, he directed them to retire their commands to the heights out of cannon-range and throw up works." This was what was agreed upon during the consultation on board the flag-ship, from which he had evidently but just returned. "Reinforcements were *en route*, he said, and it was advisable to await their coming. *He was then informed of the mishap to the first division and that the road to Charlotte was open to the enemy.* . . . In his ordinary quiet voice he said, addressing himself to both officers: 'Gentlemen, the position on the right must be retaken;' with that he turned and galloped off." General Grant then evidently went to his head-quarters to send off the following dispatch to Foote: "If all the gunboats that can will immediately make their appearance to the enemy it may secure us a victory. Otherwise all may be defeated. A terrible conflict *ensued in my absence*, which has demoralized a portion of my command, and I think the enemy is much more so. If the gunboats do not show themselves it will reassure the enemy and still further demoralize our troops. *I must order a charge to save appearances.* I do not expect the gunboats to go into action, but to make appearance and throw a few shells at long range." Having sent off this dispatch, General Grant must have ridden directly to General C. F. Smith's camp, where he gave the order to assault, for General Smith says in his report: "Under the orders of the commanding-general the division remained quiet on the next day (15th) except to keep up the annoyance by skirmishers and slow artillery fire until *toward* three P.M., when I received the general's personal order to assault the enemy's right—a half mile from my habitual position." This was the practicable point of assault reported by C. F. Smith to the commanding-general on the day before. General Grant in his report says: "This plan (to partially fortify and await repairs to the gunboats) was frustrated by the enemy making a most vigorous attack upon our right wing commanded by General J. A. McClernand with a portion of the force under General L. Wallace. The enemy were repulsed after a closely contested battle of several hours, in which our loss was heavy. . . . About the close of this action the ammunition in the cartridge-boxes gave out, which, with the loss of many of the field officers, produced great confusion in the ranks, and seeing that the enemy did not take advantage of it convinced me that equal confusion and possibly greater demoralization

existed with him. Taking advantage of this *fact* I ordered a charge upon the left (enemy's right) with the division under General C. F. Smith, which was most brilliantly executed, and gave to our arms full assurance of victory." . . . That there was absolutely no demoralization among the rebels except among a portion of Buckner's command, is fully shown by all the Confederate reports of this day's fighting. The results, however, were satisfactory in the highest degree.

In the military history of General Grant it is said: "Grant was returning to his head-quarters from the flag-ship at about nine o'clock, when he met an aid galloping up to inform him of the assault. This was the first information he had of the battle; he next met General C. F. Smith, who had not yet been engaged, and learning from him the position of affairs on the right, at once directed him to hold himself in readiness to assault the rebel right with his whole command. Riding on, he soon reached the point where the hardest fighting had occurred." It is a pity that this is not correct, for then the assault by General C. F. Smith might have been ordered much earlier, and it would be pleasant to imagine the grand old soldier turning to the right after he carried the lines, and sweeping down along the breastworks, capturing batteries, and coming out in the rear of the enemy's force. The statement, however, cannot be correct, for Wallace says the information of the disaster was given to General Grant by McClernand and himself during the lull, and *after* General Grant had given instructions looking forward to awaiting the arrival of reinforcements. General C. F. Smith would have noted it in his report with the dispositions made by him to be in readiness, and he says all was quiet until toward three o'clock. Lastly, General Grant in his dispatch to Foote says: "A terrible conflict *ensued in my absence*," and we know the attack on Wallace was not made until it was at least twelve o'clock.

The personal order to make the assault was given, however, to General Smith toward three o'clock. In his report General Smith says: "On the receipt of this order the artillery was ordered to open heavily, and the brigade commanders to press forward with large numbers of skirmishers and make a dash at any available opening, while the Second Iowa, supported by the Fifty-Second Indiana (belonging to the Third Brigade, but which had been posted to guard the left), Twenty-fifth Indiana, Twelfth Iowa, etc., was ordered to lead the assault. This regiment" (Second Iowa), "was ordered to rely on the bayonet and not to fire a shot until the enemy's ranks were broken. Right gallantly was the duty performed. The left wing of the regiment under its colonel (Tuttle) moved steadily over the open space, down the ravine and up the rough ground covered with large timber, in

unbroken line, regardless of the fire poured into it, and paused not until the enemy broke and fled. It was quickly followed by the other wing with Lieutenant-Colonel Baker in the same manner, the united body pressing the enemy through their encampment and towards the enemy's works, just above. The movement of this regiment was a very handsome exhibition of soldierly conduct. The Fifty-second Indiana, ordered to follow and support the Second Iowa, from the nature of the ground and want of tactical knowledge, instead of going to the left as I had intended came up (in) confusion, and instead of moving forward remained behind the earthworks. . . . The Twenty-fifth Indiana following in order moved in advance to the support of the Second Iowa and covered it when that regiment from want of cartridges retired behind the intrenchment first taken from the infantry of the enemy. As soon as the outwork was taken I sent for a section of Stone's battery, which soon arrived and opened upon the enemy with happy effect, silencing a heavy gun—a twenty-four pounder. Meanwhile the regiments of the Third (Cook's) Brigade arrived, but as it was getting dark I deemed it better to dispose of the troops for the night and be in readiness for a renewed assault on the morrow—the crest of the enemy's works being only some four hundred yards distant and the ground more or less favorable." Then follows a statement of the dispositions for the night, etc.

The professional man will read with delight this clear short story of a perfectly planned assault. In General C. F. Smith the country had a professional soldier who had the genius at once to adapt himself to the necessities arising from our having armies composed of raw, undrilled troops. He knew that the ranks were filled, as the "ranks of war" were never filled before, by the respectable, self-respecting free-born Americans—that individually brave, yet from thorough ignorance of their new calling, and a want of confidence in the knowledge possessed by their officers and in their fellow-soldiers, they were uncertain in their "staying qualities." To make the best use of them was to give them a leader who they knew understood his business and shared its dangers with them. General Smith selected for the assaulting regiment one that had only joined his command the evening before. When it moved forward *he* was with it, and when the bullets began to fly, and the regiment showed symptoms of wavering, he said, "Boys, no flinching now; we will do the work." Those words at once gave tone and confidence to every man, and, from that time on, hardened old soldiers could not have done better. Words of praise came but seldom from General Smith's lips, and those that he bestows on the Second Iowa are beyond all price.

In the private journal of General C. F. Smith which is before me is the following entry, which we present in facsimile:

Sat. 15th - Assaulted & took the enemy's  
outworks on the left. We took  
up how to encamp in  
keep in position the Vol.  
my horse & I both hit

Sun 15th. - all disports made  
by me for a continued assault  
when the enemy gave up.  
I then marched in.

The following letter from Colonel Thomas J. Newsham, the adjutant-general of General Smith's division, addressed to the writer, explains itself:

"Edwardsville, Illinois June 10th 1885

Thursday the 13th of February 1862 the General's (Smith's) division held the left of General Grant's line investing Donelson—on that day the best brigade of the division at General Grant's request was sent to reinforce McClernand on the right of our line—another brigade was sent on the morning of the 14th, and the evening of that day another brigade was sent by General Smith to help the same part of our line leaving us only the new troops which were constantly arriving from Cairo, and by Saturday the 15th we had not a single regiment of our old Paducah division, even our artillery was gone to the right by the General's (Grant's) orders.

Saturday we opened a brisk fire all along our front and maintained the same all day. About 3 p m of Saturday the General and myself were sitting at the base of a large tree on the high ground on our extreme right when General Grant rode up with his staff and said 'General Smith all has failed on our right—You must take Fort Donelson.' Smith sprung to his feet and brushing his moustache with his right hand said 'I will do it,' and turning to me said 'Capt Newsham ride to the left and get the regiments there under arms at once.' I did so and found the 2nd Iowa, Colonel Tuttle on our extreme left having just arrived that morning.

I had just got the men in line when the General (Smith) rode up and asked what regiment it was there in his front. I answered it was the 2nd Iowa. He turned to the men and said 'Second Iowa you must take the fort—take the caps off your guns—fix bayonets and I will support you.' We then moved in the following order: the 2nd Iowa—the 7th Iowa the 25th Indiana the 14th Iowa and the 7th Illinois, moving out of the woods by the left flank until the colors reached the edge of the wood, then forward by column by wings, crossed the small stream—then through the abattis and up the hill—the General and myself immediately behind the first line and until within 20 paces of the line of works when the enemy opened on us with double barrelled shot guns loaded with buckshot in our very faces. Great gaps were made in our line and through one of these in our front the General rode and we rode into the fort in advance of our line—in fact the General could have placed his hand on the heads of the rebels who were firing at our advancing men—the fight soon became a hand to hand one and for one hour and ten minutes until dark the battle raged fiercely; through it all the General was calm but terrible, recklessly exposing himself, and by his presence and heroic conduct led the green men to do things that no other man could have done. After making the required dispositions for the night he retired to his own camp at the foot of a white oak tree (our tents having been given for the use of the wounded) where he and his staff laid down in the snow, without food, waiting for daylight to renew the attack. The next morning before daylight the General called me and asked me to go to the front and see that everything was ready for a forward movement as soon as daylight appeared. (We had 4 regiments inside the works, and 8 regiments close up under the same.) Arriving there I found the men all quite ready and waiting only for daylight, when the Col. of the 2nd Iowa came to me and said there was a rebel officer on the picket line who wanted to know if there was an officer present who could negotiate for terms of surrender. I told him no, but I would soon have one there who could do so; turning to go for the General, I soon met him and told him what had happened. He rode to the front, and the rebel Major asked the General what terms he would give to them with a view to surrender the fort and army. Genl. Smith said, 'I make no terms with rebels with arms in their hands—my terms are unconditional and immediate surrender.' The Major then said, 'it will take me three-quarters of an hour to go to the Head Quarters and return.' The General replied, 'I will give you one half hour to be back here with your answer—if not here in that time I will move on your works. Go.' Turning to me the General said, 'Captain, go and tell General Grant what I have done.' By this

time it was light enough for me to see to ride pretty fast, and, arriving at the little log cabin which was General Grant's Head Quarters, I found General Grant eating breakfast with his staff, and reported to him as directed. Grant said, 'Tell Smith that I approve all that he has done.' I was about to leave for the front again, when Grant said, 'Hold on, Captain; I will ride back with you;' which he did, and, arriving where Smith was, the rebel officer had just returned, and Grant did the talking.

Such, in brief, was the part played by General Smith at Fort Donelson."

In a letter dated October 29, 1885, Colonel Newsham gives other interesting facts. He says that just after the capture of the enemy's breastworks "Gen. Smith sent me for artillery and I brought two ten pounder Parrott guns inside and opened fire—the General told me the guns were too light and urged me to procure heavier ones, which I did by bringing up two twenty pounders. . . . As I passed out the second time in quest of the heavy guns and near Gen. Grant, he asked me if 'Smith wanted anything.'—Without any authority from Gen. Smith, I told Gen. Grant that he wanted some of his old regiments. Gen. Grant at once sent Capt. Rawlins to the right of his line to get the 9th Illinois (a regiment that Gen. Smith loved); when the fight closed for the night, and after making the required dispositions of the men inside (now 4 regiments) we started out to go to the camp for the night. Just outside there was a regiment drawn up in line of battle with about 50 men with bandages on their arms and legs. The General asked me what regiment it was; I answered the 9th; he asked what those white bandages were on the men for?—I told him they were on men who when they heard that *he* wanted them had left the field hospital and joined the regiment to do and die for him. We were now about the right of the regiment and the grand old hero at once took off his cap and rode down the front of the regiment *bareheaded*. The officers and men stood silent until he had passed, and then a cheer from their full hearts broke forth that told him how they appreciated the mark of respect he had paid them. We at once retired to our dreary camp, wet, cold and hungry—no tents—nothing to eat—but a great fire to warm us. We laid down after talking of the fight and the desperate work expected in the morning, and slept as best we could. . . . On Sunday morning, the 16th, after we started in and the surrender had been consummated, we rode at the head of our division, the 2nd Iowa, in advance, and having passed the rebel battery on our right we came upon five rebel regiments standing in line with arms piled on the ground. Some of the officers came to General Smith and offered their swords which the General declined, saying, 'Gentlemen keep your swords.' We rode to the little town of Dover and

there met General Buckner who extended his hand to General Smith, who declined to take it, when Buckner said: 'General Smith, I believe I am right:' the General answered, 'that is for God to decide, not me, for I know that I am right.' About 10 A.M., Buckner asked us to breakfast but the General declined, and we returned to the place of honor—the captured works on the right of the enemy's line, where after seeing that all the men had food we ate some hard tack and raw pork about 1 P.M.—the first food that had passed our lips since Friday morning.

When I begin to write of him I loved so much my pen is too slow to express half the incidents which crowd my memory. . . ."

The most careful study of the operations before Fort Donelson will show that at no time would any military man have been warranted in the predication of an opinion as to the final result, for the request for the gunboats "to throw a few shells at long range" and the charge which was ordered "to save appearances" were not indicative of great hopes. Such battles have been fought before, and in such battles some one must win, but they involve chances which generals in their plans would as a rule prefer to eliminate. The country should forever remember and do justice to the general who led the victorious assault and the brave men whom he commanded in that critical hour. The assault of General Smith decided the issue at Fort Donelson.

After General Halleck had had time to inform himself thoroughly as to events at Fort Donelson, he sent the following despatch:

Headquarters, St. Louis, February 19, 1862.

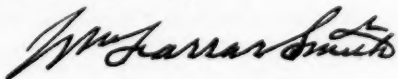
Major-General McClellan:

Brigadier-General Charles F. Smith, by his coolness and bravery at Fort Donelson when the battle was against us, turned the tide and carried the enemy's outworks. Make him a major-general. You can't get a better one. Honor him for this victory and the whole country will applaud.

H. W. Halleck,

Major-General.

The proceedings of the Confederate council of war held that night in Dover are as rich in humor as a capital comedy—the transfer of the command from one to another till it came down to one who sat with pen in hand to write the order to show the white flags at daylight, and the letter asking for terms, the points of etiquette which were discussed, the scurrying of those to escape who declared to the last that "they would die rather than surrender," and the rapid scratching of the pen as the door closes on the fugitives, make a scene irresistibly ludicrous.



## FROM BURNSIDE TO HOOKER

### TRANSFER OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, 1863

The wounds of Fredericksburg were yet fresh when, thirteen days after the most bloody and useless conflict of the war, on the 26th of December, 1862, Major-General Ambrose E. Burnside, commanding the Army of the Potomac, had devised another plan for attacking the enemy in his front, and ordered the army to be ready to move upon twelve hours' notice.

His plan was to cross the Rappahannock at a place called Muddy Creek, about seven miles below Fredericksburg; a feint, which could be turned into a positive attack should the enemy discover the movement below, to be made above. The positions for the artillery to protect the crossings had been selected, surveys made, and the corduroy cut for building the necessary roads.

A cavalry expedition was organized to co-operate, consisting of twenty-five hundred of the best cavalry in the army, of whom one thousand were picked men, to move, accompanied by a brigade of infantry to protect their crossing, to Kelly's Ford; there the thousand picked men were to cross, proceed to the Rapidan, and cross that river at Raccoon Ford; the Virginia Central Railroad at Goochland or Carter's—blowing up the locks of the James River Canal at the place of crossing—the Richmond and Lynchburg Railroad at a point further south—blowing up an iron bridge—the Richmond, Petersburg and Weldon Railroad where it crossed the Nottaway River—destroying the railroad bridge there—and effect a junction with Major-General John J. Peck at Suffolk, where steamers would be in waiting to convey them to Acquia Creek.

To deceive the enemy and draw attention from the attacking column, when the thousand picked men crossed the Rappahannock, a part of the remaining fifteen hundred were to proceed toward Warrenton; another part toward Culpeper; the rest to accompany the thousand picked men as far as Raccoon Ford, and return. While the proposed expedition should be *en route* the general movement would be made.

The army was organized in four\* Grand Divisions, the Right, com-

\* The Roster of the Army of the Potomac, under Burnside, as published in "Reports of Military Operations during the Rebellion, 1860-65. Washington, War Department Printing Office, 1877," gives *three*, and is incorrect. By courtesy of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert N. Scott, Third

manded by Major-General E. V. Sumner; the Center, by Major-General Joseph Hooker, the Left, by Major-General W. B. Franklin; and, the Reserve, by Major-General Franz Sigel. A division of cavalry was attached to each of the Grand Divisions, except the Reserve. The authority exercised by these commanders was equal to that of the general commanding an army.

The Right Grand Division was composed of the Second Corps, commanded by Major-General Darius N. Couch, and the Ninth by Brigadier-General Orlando B. Wilcox; the Center, of the Third Corps, commanded by Major-General George Stoneman, and the Fifth, by Major-General Daniel Butterfield; while the Left was composed of the First Corps, commanded by Major-General John F. Reynolds, and the Sixth, by Major-General William Farrar Smith. The Grand Reserve Division was composed of the Eleventh Corps, commanded by Brigadier-General Julius H. Stahel, and the Twelfth by Major-General Henry W. Slocum.

About the 30th of December, Brigadier-General John Newton, commanding the Third Division, and Brigadier-General John Cochrane, commanding the First Brigade, Third Division, Sixth Corps, obtained leave of absence, informing Generals Franklin and Smith that upon arrival in Washington they would take occasion to represent to some one in authority the dispirited condition of the army, and the danger of a forward movement at that time.

It was their intention to confer with Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Senate Military Committee, and Hon. Moses F. Odell of New York, a member of the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, and to them impart a statement of the condition of the army, "to undergo the operation of their judgment, and to be weighed at their true value, whatever that might be." Congress having taken its holiday recess, both gentlemen were absent from the city.

General Cochrane, who upon arrival had started out alone to arrange an interview with Senator Wilson and Mr. Odell, upon being informed of their absence, thought it advisable to see the President upon a matter of such vital interest to himself and the people. Calling upon the Secretary of State, Hon. William H. Seward, through him an interview with President Lincoln was arranged for late in the afternoon of their arrival.

U. S. Artillery, in charge of the office for compilation and publication of the official records of the Union and Confederate armies, the writer has had access to the returns of the army made at the time. The Eleventh Corps marched from Fairfax Court-House, December 10, 1862, arriving at Falmouth, December 15th.

The earnestness of the officers is apparent when it is considered they did not arrive in Washington until three o'clock of the afternoon on which the interview was had. Arrived at the Executive Mansion and ushered into the presence of the kind-hearted, easily approached President, who nevertheless was commander-in-chief of the army and navy, the gentlemen found themselves, as officers of the army, in a very delicate position.

General Newton, the senior officer, introduced the subject, and spoke at length upon the military position of the army, and the feeling of the soldiers in connection with their confidence in Burnside as a leader; although, as General Newton says, he did not wish to tell him, and did *not* at any time tell him, that the troops had no confidence in General Burnside; notwithstanding that was his firm belief.

Upon General Newton's conclusion the President evinced much feeling, apprehensive the conversation was a representation by officers of the Army of the Potomac concerning the plan of operation of its commander, with a view to his supersedure by some other officer.

General Cochrane therefore addressed him, with all the quiet eloquence at his command, in protest of such an understanding; assuring him of his mistake, and that *he* was there *only* for the purpose of disclosing to him, as commander-in-chief of the army, certain facts within his knowledge, derived through information from others and personal observation, which he was convinced it was important the President should be informed of; that he deemed it the best evidence of patriotism and loyalty to the government he could give; that he would not interfere with the plans or action of General Burnside as commander, and if he *would* he could not, as he was not aware of them; and that his last thought was to distrust or desire to replace him with another.

General Newton, also, disclaimed to the President any intention to interfere with the military authorities. He said he considered it his duty, if true to his country, to let some one in authority know his convictions of the condition of the army, as, if it were again defeated at Fredericksburg, or anywhere along the Rappahannock, it would not be a mere defeat as before, but destruction. He said his only motive in calling upon the President and making the statement he had, was, that he felt the very existence of the nation to depend upon it.

He requested the President not to believe what he had stated because *he* had said it, as, after all, it was only his opinion, but to investigate and ascertain for himself the condition of the army.

After a long conversation between the President, the Secretary of State,

who was a party to the interview, and Generals Newton and Cochrane relative to the military features of the ground below the position of the army on the Rappahannock, which General Newton had in part reconnoitered, the President seemed to realize he had been mistaken, and was pleased to say he was glad the gentlemen had visited him, and that good would come of the interview, which was thus ended.

General Newton, now engineer-in-chief of the army, has since said it was his belief that, "with the best troops in the world, we would have failed at that time in a direct assault upon the works of the enemy in rear of Fredericksburg, within a distance of six miles in either direction. It is laid down by the very best military writers—not merely theoretical, but practical military writers—that the passage of a river in face of an opposing force never succeeds, except by mere chance; that the instances of success are so rare that the rule is proved by the exceptions; that it is impossible to pass a river except by what is called a surprise—that is, at a point so far removed from the main body of the enemy, or do it so suddenly, that you have time to get your troops over, and not only get them over, but also in order of battle, so as to be ready to meet an attack; for if the enemy charge upon you before you get in order of battle, the more troops you have over the worse for you."

In the mean time the cavalry expedition had started, the brigade of infantry accompanying it having crossed the Rappahannock at Richard's and returned by Ellis's Ford, leaving the way clear for the cavalry to cross at Kelly's Ford.

The day the crossing was to be made Burnside received from the President this telegram: "I have good reason for saying that you must not make a general movement without letting me know of it."

He was greatly surprised, and could not understand why the President should have sent him such a dispatch. None of the officers of his command, except two of his staff, had been informed a forward movement was contemplated. He could but believe the dispatch related to important military operations in other parts of the country and that co-operation was necessary. He immediately ordered the cavalry to remain where it was, at Kelly's Ford, until further orders.

A part was soon after sent to intercept the bold and dashing Confederate cavalier, Major-General J. E. B. (Jeb) Stuart,\* who had made a raid to Dumfries, capturing there twenty-five wagons and two hundred prisoners, thence toward Alexandria and around Fairfax Court-House,

\* Captain J. E. B. Stuart, First Cavalry, resigned May 14, 1861, to assist in repelling, as he considered it, the invasion of his native State of Virginia.

burning the railroad bridge across the Accotink, the hard-riding raiders returning in triumph with their spoils.

General Burnside went to Washington, and was informed by the President that some general officers from the Army of the Potomac, whose names he declined to give, had called upon him and represented that he contemplated a forward movement; and that the army was so dispirited and demoralized it received the approval of no prominent officers and would result in disaster.

He assured the President that none of his officers had been advised of his plan, and proceeded to explain it in detail, urging him to grant permission for its execution; but he declined to approve it at that time.

The Secretary of War, Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, and Major-General Henry W. Halleck, general-in-chief, were sent for, and learned for the first time of the President's action in preventing the movement, although General Halleck had known a forward movement was contemplated.

Burnside was amazed at the revelation of feeling in the army—known to every one in it but himself. General Halleck approved the request he then and there wrote, that the officers who made the representations to the President be at once dismissed, and Burnside remained in Washington two days to urge such action, without avail.

When he returned to camp, he learned that many of the details of the proposed movement were known to sympathizers of the enemy in Washington, thereby rendering it impracticable.

Upon being asked to whom he had communicated his plan, he said he had informed no one in Washington of it but the President, the Secretary of War, and General Halleck; and in camp, but two of his staff officers, who had not been out of camp since. He professed not to know how the enemy had obtained his plans.

A correspondence then took place between the President, General Halleck, and General Burnside, who requested authority from the President or General Halleck to make a movement across the river, and while urging the necessity, admitted there was hardly a general officer who approved it. He said he was willing to assume all responsibility himself—promising to keep in mind the President's caution against running any risk of destroying the Army of the Potomac—but desired at least General Halleck's sanction of the movement.

Being informed by General Halleck that while he had always favored a forward movement he could not take the responsibility of giving any directions as to how and when it should be made, Burnside decided upon a movement, without further correspondence, and, although unable to

devise any as promising as the one just thwarted by the interference of subordinate officers, without hesitation adopted a plan and proceeded to put it into execution.

He made a personal reconnoissance of the ground above Falmouth, which determined him to cross his entire force at Bank's and United States Fords, if found expedient, and make further preparations with reference to crossing at Muddy Creek, as at first contemplated.

The roads and pontoon trains were made ready, the artillery detailed to cover the crossing—in fact, the necessary preparations were complete—when he delayed two days on account of conflicting intelligence respecting the enemy's position which rendered it necessary to send a spy over the river. He had in his employ, as a spy—ostensibly at work upon the railroad—a resident of Fredericksburg, who had been driven away on account of his well-known Union sentiments. This man went over and back, two nights in succession, and obtained information which decided Burnside to make the crossing above.

Accordingly the army moved on the morning of the 20th of January, upon good roads and with pleasant weather.

The Grand Divisions of General Hooker and Franklin moved up the river by parallel roads, while General Couch's Second Corps went below Fredericksburg to make demonstrations. To General Sigel, with the Reserve Grand Division, was assigned the duty of protecting the line of communication on the river front.

Positions for the artillery had been selected by General Henry J. Hunt, chief of artillery, the guns were well up and the pontoon trains only a short distance behind, when the army encamped for the night, in the woods, at convenient distance from the fords. It was decided to make the crossing early next morning.

During the night the most terrible storm of driving snow, sleet, and pouring rain ever experienced in that vicinity overtook the unfortunate army, rendering the roads and the whole face of the country impassable.

All the long hours of that fearful night, large numbers of soldiers toiled at the guns with the horses, in the futile effort to haul them up the heights and place them in position. Double and triple teams of horses and mules were harnessed to each wagon, carrying one pontoon boat, and by morning fifteen boats were at the river bank; but five more were needed to complete even one bridge. Long stout ropes were attached to the guns and pontoon wagons; a hundred and fifty men being put on each, who worked and tugged with the horses and mules. The animals dropped dead by the score, while the men, after floundering through the mud for a few feet

were breathless. Virginia mud has a national reputation, the upper geologic deposits affording unequaled elements for bad roads. It is a soil, out of which the bottom drops when it rains, so tenacious that extrication from its clutch is almost impossible.

The ever watchful, intrepid Lee had discovered the movement of the Union army, during the night, and by morning, notwithstanding the war of the elements, had massed his army to prevent the crossing. Night came again but the guns and necessary pontoons were not up.

A chaos of artillery and pontoon wagons encumbered the road to the river—supply and ammunition trains were mired by the way—all in sight of the enemy's pickets, who jeered and taunted the dispirited army, shouting: "Say! Yanks! We'll be over in the morning and haul your guns and pontoons out of the mud for you." "We'll build your bridges, and escort you over." "Why didn't you let us know you were not going to cross again at Fredericksburg?" "You ought not to get mad so quick." "We had a first-class reception fixed up for you, last time—if you had only come where we lived—but if you had called again, instead of bringing us away up here, such an infernal night as last night, we would have given you a regular warming—have painted the town red—before we allowed you to go back."

Another morning dawned upon another day of rain and storm, and things generally went from bad to worse. The more hopeless the undertaking, the more tenacious Burnside; and he early determined to leave his artillery—even his pontoons—where they were, hopelessly stuck in the mud, cross in the face of Lee's army with such pontoons as he had at the river, and make a bold attack upon the arrogant, insulting enemy.

General Hooker stoutly protested against so reckless a venture, and other generals were virtually insubordinate.

Ascertaining the three days' rations carried in the haversacks of the men to be exhausted, and realizing the violent opposition of the rank and file—who had become aware of his purpose—he reluctantly abandoned the forward movement; but not until he had telegraphed General Halleck he would be glad to meet him at Acquia Creek, or, if Halleck preferred, he would "run up to Washington for an hour."

Being told, in reply, that he must be his own judge about the necessity of going up, he telegraphed back, "I shall not go up." He then ordered the army back to the camps it had left, in the vicinity of Fredericksburg.

The problem of a backward movement was almost as serious as the forward movement he had abandoned.

Nearly the whole army was put at work corduroying the bottomless

roads and getting the artillery, pontoon, and other wagons on to the corduroy.

Early on the morning of the 23d the army moved, floundering and staggering as best it could, back to camp, desperately humiliated.

The recollections of that terrible "Mud March" will ever live in the memories of its participants.

It was an ample vindication of General McClellan for resisting the almost universal and popular demand of the people at home—by their comfortable firesides—for a forward movement during the winter months, when he was in command. It should have forever stopped the daily bulletin from Washington: "All quiet on the Potomac. Only one picket shot last night;" responded to by the innumerable host of "croakers," with: "Why don't the army move?"

The position in which Burnside now found himself was as unfortunate as humiliating. He had discovered, as he supposed, that his campaign would have been a failure even had the weather continued favorable, for the reason that the leading officers of his army lacked confidence in his ability as a commander.

In desperation, apparently, after ordering the troops back to camp, as he said: "I went to my adjutant-general's office and issued an order which I termed General Order No. 8.

Head-Quarters Army of the Potomac,  
January 23, 1863.

General Orders, }  
No. 8. }

*First.* General Joseph Hooker, Major-General of Volunteers and Brigadier-General in the United States Army, having been guilty of unjust and unnecessary criticisms of the actions of his superior officers and of the authorities; and having, by the general tone of his conversation, endeavored to create distrust in the minds of officers who have associated with him; and having, by omissions and otherwise, made reports and statements which were calculated to create incorrect impressions; and for habitually speaking in disparaging terms of other officers, is hereby dismissed the service of the United States, as a man unfit to hold an important commission during a crisis like the present, when so much patience, charity, confidence, consideration, and patriotism are due from every soldier in the field.

This order is issued subject to the approval of the President of the United States.

*Second.* Brigadier-General W. T. H. Brooks, commanding First Division, Sixth Army Corps, for complaining of the policy of the government and for using language tending to demoralize his command, is, subject to the approval of the President of the United States, dismissed from the military service of the United States.

*Third.* Brigadier-General John Newton, commanding Third Division, Sixth Army Corps, and Brigadier-General John Cochrane, commanding First Brigade, Third Division, Sixth Army Corps, for going to the President of the United States with criticisms upon the plans of their commanding officers, are, subject to the approval of the President, dismissed from the military service of the United States.

*Fourth.* It being evident that the following named officers can be of no further service to this army, they are hereby relieved from duty, and will report in person, without delay, to the adjutant-general of the United States Army :

Major-General William Buel Franklin, commanding Left Grand Division.

Major-General William Farrar Smith, commanding Sixth Army Corps.

Brigadier-General Sam. D. Sturgis, commanding Second Division, Ninth Army Corps.

Brigadier-General Edward Ferero, commanding Second Brigade, Second Division, Ninth Army Corps.

Brigadier-General John Cochrane, commanding First Brigade, Third Division, Sixth Army Corps.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Taylor, acting adjutant-general, Right Grand Division.

By command of Major-General A. E. Burnside.

Lewis Richmond, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Speaking of his action afterward, General Burnside said : " I told my adjutant-general to issue that order at once. One of my admirers—only two persons knew of this—one of them, who is a very cool, sensible man, and a firm friend, told me that, in his opinion, the order was a just one, and ought to be issued ; but that he did not think I intended to place the President in a position where he either had to assume the responsibility of becoming my enemy before the public, thereby enabling a certain portion of my friends to make a martyr of me to some extent, or had to take the responsibility of carrying out the order, which would be against the views of a great many of the most influential men in the country, particularly that portion of the order in reference to the officers I proposed to have dismissed from the service."

General Burnside took the order, signed and issued in due form, with exception of being made public, and handed it to the President with his resignation as a major-general ; saying he had never sought command, particularly that of the Army of the Potomac, and it was his wish to go into civil life after it was determined he could no longer be of use in the army. At the same time he said he did not wish to place himself in opposition to the President, or do anything to weaken the government. He suggested that the President might say to him : " You may take the responsibility of issuing this order, and I will approve it."

The President said to him : " I think you are right, but I must consult

with some of my advisers about this." Burnside replied: "If you consult with anybody you will not do it, in my opinion." The President answered: "I cannot do that: I *must* consult with them." "You are the judge," said Burnside, "and I will not question your right to do as you please."

The President asked him to remain in Washington that day, but as he felt he could not remain away from his command, requested him to go up again that night.

Upon presenting himself at night, the President said he had concluded to relieve him and place General Hooker in command. That with the kindest and best feeling toward Burnside, he was compelled to such a course by reason of the unfortunate state of existing circumstances. That he saw no other way out of the dilemma in which he found himself.

Burnside, who was not at all surprised, in fact expected and desired such a course on the part of the President, simply said: "I suppose, Mr. President, you accept my resignation, and all I have to do is to go to my home." From the depths of his heart, Mr. Lincoln warmly replied: "*General, I cannot accept your resignation; we need you, and I cannot accept your resignation.*"

Nearly twenty-three years have passed since those days of almost despair of the Republic, and it would seem time to look upon the causes, as well as the conduct of the unfortunate war between the States—as it then appeared; *now*, as though it had been one of God's political blessings in disguise—in a spirit of fraternity, charity and loyalty. Ben. Perley Poore, in his *Life and Public Services of Ambrose E. Burnside*, published in 1882, says of the change of commanders: "President Lincoln was not willing to permit the dismissal of the disaffected or demoralized generals, whose partisan feelings and prejudices had overshadowed their entire conduct. He accepted the alternative, and relieved General Burnside from the command of the Army of the Potomac, conferring the command on Gen. Joseph E. Hooker."\*

After a free interchange of views and various proposals of commands for General Burnside, between the President, Secretary Stanton and General Halleck, it was arranged that for the time being he was to have thirty days' leave of absence.

Upon going to the War Department he was permitted to read the brief of the order, about to be issued, relieving him, as follows:

\* Some historians make the mistake of writing General Hooker's name, "Joseph E." He entered the army from West Point in 1837, as Joseph Hooker, and, according to army registers, never officially changed his name

War Department, Adjutant-General's Office,  
Washington, January 25, 1863.

General Orders, }  
No. 20. }

1. The President of the United States has directed :

First. That Major-General Burnside, at his own request, be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac.

Second. That Major-General E. V. Sumner, at his own request, be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

Third. That Major-General W. B. Franklin be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

Fourth. That Major-General J. Hooker be assigned to the command of the Army of the Potomac.

2. The officers relieved as above, will report, in person, to the Adjutant-General of the Army.

By Order of the Secretary of War.

E. D. Townsend,

Assistant Adjutant-General.

General Burnside was indignant, considered the wording of the order "at his own request" very unjust, and upon its promulgation tendered and demanded the immediate acceptance of his resignation.

Persuaded by friends to recall his resignation and acquiesce in any order affecting himself that might be deemed necessary for the good of the country, he patriotically volunteered to serve wherever he might be required.

He transferred the command of the Army of the Potomac to his successor without loss in any perceptible degree of the respect and esteem in which he was held by the Northern people, for his intense patriotism and zeal in the common cause.

In so doing he issued the following farewell address :

Head-quarters of the Army of the Potomac,  
Camp near Falmouth, January 26, 1863.

General Orders, }  
No. 9. }

By direction of the President of the United States, the commanding general this day transfers the command of this army to Major-General Joseph Hooker.

The short time that he has directed your movements has not been fruitful of victory, nor any considerable advancement of our lines, but it has again demonstrated an amount of courage, patience and endurance that, under more favorable circumstances, would have accomplished greater results.

Continue to exercise these virtues, be true in your devotion to your country and the principles you have sworn to maintain, give to the brave and skillful general who has long been identified with your organization, and who is now to command you, your full and cordial support and co-operation, and you will deserve success.

Your general, in taking an affectionate leave of the army, from which he separates with so much regret, may be pardoned if he bids an especial farewell to his long and tried associates of the Ninth Corps. His prayers are that God may be with you, and grant you continued success until the Rebellion is crushed.

By command of Major-General A. E. Burnside.

*Lewis Richmond*, Assistant Adjutant-General.

When it was announced to General Hooker that he had been placed in command of the Army of the Potomac, he said: "I doubted, and so expressed myself, if it could be saved to the country. I make this statement to vindicate myself from the aspersion that I made use of improper influences to obtain the command. No being lives who can say that I ever expressed a desire for the position. It was conferred upon me for my sword, and not for any act or word of mine indicative of a desire for it."

General Hooker in assuming the great responsibility, suddenly transferred to him, published from

Head-quarters, Army of the Potomac,  
Camp near Falmouth, January 26, 1863.

General Orders, }  
No. 1. }

By direction of the President of the United States the undersigned assumes command of the Army of the Potomac.

He enters upon the discharge of the duties imposed by this trust with a just appreciation of their responsibilities. Since the formation of this army he has been identified with its history.

He has shared with you its glories and reverses, with no other desire than that these relations might remain unchanged until its destiny should be accomplished.

In the record of your achievements there is much to be proud of, and with the blessing of God we will contribute something to the renown of our arms and the success of our cause. To secure these ends your commander will require the cheerful and zealous co-operation of every officer and soldier in this army.

In equipment, intelligence, and valor, the enemy is our inferior. Let us never hesitate to give him battle wherever we can find him.

The undersigned only gives expression to the feelings of this army when he conveys to our late commander, Major-General Burnside, the most cordial good wishes for his future.

My staff will be announced as soon as organized.

Joseph Hooker,  
Major-General Commanding Army of the Potomac.

General Sumner, relieved from duty "at his own request," without having made such a request or said anything that could be so misconstrued, apparently because he was older than and superior in rank to General Hooker, was ordered to his home at Syracuse, New York, and died on the twenty-first of the following March, over sixty years of age.

The Army of the Potomac, always superior to its commanders, until, indeed, it was finally commanded by our most eminent grand commander, General Ulysses S. Grant, marched and fought through heat and cold, sunshine and storm, victory and defeat—oftener defeat—for four long years.

Its soldiers, trained in the arts of peace, from raw recruits became veterans. Reared to every comfort, they became inured to every hardship.

Victims of swamp and typhus fevers; baffled time and again by flood; battling at every disadvantage with the flower of the enemy; long denied a victory; matured plans jeopardized; fighting all day, marching all night; advancing until they saw the spires of Richmond, then back again within sight of the white dome of the Nation's Capitol; never elated by success nor depressed by defeat; disaster following disaster, they were buoyant to the close—until at Appomattox, on April 9, 1865, that grand Army of the Republic wore its crown, just before that other grand Army of the Republic, under "the great flanker," General William T. Sherman, after its march "from Atlanta to the Sea," was ready to appear upon the scene and divide its honors.

*History is already writing the annals of the Army of the Potomac high on the scroll of Fame.*

From May, 1861, to March, 1864, the losses of the Army of the Potomac were, in killed, 15,220; wounded, 65,850; captured, 31,378; in all, 112,448. After Grant supervised its efforts, from May 1, 1864, to April 9, 1865, killed, 12,500; wounded, 69,500; captured or missing, 28,000; in all, 110,000. From the beginning to the close of the war, killed, 27,720; wounded, 135,350; captured or missing, 59,378. A grand aggregate of 222,448. Adding those who died of gunshot wounds—they are dying daily—the number of men who lost their lives in action in the Army of the Potomac was 48,902; probably one-half of all who died from wounds on the field of battle, in all the armies of the United States. Add to this the deaths from disease and discharges for disability, and it is explained why so large a part of the pension roll is devoted to the *Army of the Potomac*.

*Edw Howard Mills.*

## SLAVERY IN AMERICA

### ITS ORIGIN AND CONSEQUENCES

To properly understand the condition of things preceding the great war of the Rebellion and the causes underlying that condition and the war itself, we must glance backward through the history of the country to, and even beyond, that memorable 30th of November, 1782, when the independence of the United States of America was at last conceded by Great Britain. At that time the population of the United States was about 2,500,000 free whites and some 500,000 black slaves. We had gained our independence of the Mother Country, but she had left fastened upon us the curse of slavery. Indeed, African slavery had already, in 1620, been implanted on the soil of Virginia before Plymouth Rock was pressed by the feet of the Pilgrim Fathers, and had spread, prior to the Revolution, with greater or less rapidity, according to the surrounding adaptations of soil, production, and climate, to every one of the thirteen colonies.

But while it had thus spread more or less throughout all the original colonies, and was, as it were, recognized and acquiesced in by all as an existing and established institution, yet there were many, both in the South and North, who looked upon it as an evil—an inherited evil—and were anxious to prevent the increase of that evil. Hence it was that, even as far back as 1679, a controversy sprang up between the colonies and the Home Government upon the African slavery question—a controversy continuing, with more or less vehemence, down to the Declaration of Independence itself.

It was this conviction that it was not alone an evil, but a dangerous evil, that induced Jefferson to embody, in his original draft of that Declaration, a clause strongly condemnatory of the African slave trade—a clause afterward omitted from it solely, he tells us, “in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never \* attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it,” as well as in deference to the sensitiveness of Northern people, who, though having

\* Prior to 1752, when Georgia surrendered her charter and became a royal colony, the holding of slaves within its limits was expressly prohibited by law; and the Darien (Georgia) resolutions of 1775 declared not only a “disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of slavery in America” as “a practice founded in injustice and cruelty, and highly dangerous to our liberties (as well as lives), but a determination to use our utmost efforts for the manumission of our slaves in this colony upon the most safe and equitable footing for the masters and themselves.”

few slaves themselves, "had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others"—a clause of the great indictment of King George III., which, since it was not omitted for any other reason than that just given, shows pretty conclusively that where the fathers in that Declaration affirmed that "all men are created equal," they included in the term "men" black as well as white, bond as well as free, for the clause ran thus: "*Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every Legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of our people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another.*"

During the war of the Revolution following the Declaration of Independence, the half a million of slaves, nearly all of them in the Southern States, were found to be not only a source of weakness, but through the incitements of British emissaries a standing menace of peril to the slaveholders. Thus it was that the South was overrun by hostile British armies, while in the North—comparatively free from this element of weakness—disaster after disaster met them. At last, however, in 1782, came the recognition of our Independence, and peace, followed by the evacuation of New York at the close of 1783.

The lessons of the war, touching slavery, had not been lost upon our statesmen. Early in 1784 Virginia ceded to the United States her claims of jurisdiction and otherwise over the vast territory north-west of the Ohio; and upon its acceptance, Jefferson, as chairman of a select committee appointed at his instance to consider a plan of government therefor, reported to the ninth Continental Congress an ordinance, to govern the territory ceded already, or to be ceded, by individual States to the United States, extending from the 31st to the 47th degree of north latitude, which provided as "*fundamental conditions* between the thirteen original States and those newly described" as embryo States thereafter to be carved out of such territory ceded or to be ceded to the United States, not only that "they shall forever remain a part of the United States of America," but also that "*after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States*"—and that those *fundamental conditions* were "*unalterable* but by the joint consent of the United States in Congress assembled, and of the particular State within which such alteration is proposed to be made."

But now a signal misfortune befell. Upon a motion to strike out the clause prohibiting slavery, six States, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania, voted to retain the prohibitive clause, while three States, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, voted not to retain it. The vote of North Carolina was equally divided; and while one of the delegates from New Jersey voted to retain it, yet as there was no other delegate present from that State, and the Articles of Confederation required the presence of "two or more" delegates to cast the vote of a State, the vote of New Jersey was lost; and, as the same Articles required an affirmative vote of a majority of all the States—and not simply of those present—the retention of the clause prohibiting Slavery was also lost. Thus was lost the great opportunity of restricting slavery to the then existing slave States, and of settling the question peaceably for all time. Three years afterward a similar ordinance, since become famous as the "Ordinance of '87," for the government of the North-west Territory (from which the free States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin have since been carved and admitted to the Union), was adopted in Congress by the unanimous vote of all the eight States present. And the sixth article of this Ordinance, or "Articles of Compact," which it was stipulated should "*forever remain unalterable*, unless by common consent," was in these words:

"Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; provided always that any person escaping into the same from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, *such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed*, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor, or service, as aforesaid."

But this "Ordinance of '87," adopted almost simultaneously with the framing of our present Federal Constitution, was essentially different from the ordinance of three years previous, in this: that while the latter included the territory south of the Ohio River as well as that north-west of it, this did not; and as a direct consequence of this failure to include in it the territory south of that river, the States of Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi, which were carved out of it, were subsequently admitted to the Union as, and thus greatly augmented the political power of, the slave States. And at a later period it was this increased political power that secured the admission of still other slave States—as Florida, Louisiana and Texas—which enabled the slave States to hold the balance of such power as against the original States that had become free, and the new free States of the North-west.

Hence, while in a measure quieting the great question of slavery for the time being, the "Ordinance of '87" in reality laid the ground-work for all the long series of irritations and agitations touching its restrictions and spread, which eventually culminated in the clash of arms that shook the Union from its center to its circumference. Meanwhile, as we have seen—while the "Ordinance of '87" was being enacted in the last Congress of the old Confederation at New York—the Convention to frame the Constitution was sitting at Philadelphia under the presidency of George Washington himself. The old Confederation had proven itself to be "a rope of sand." A new and stronger form of government had become a necessity for National existence. To create it out of the discordant elements whose harmony was essential to success, was a Herculean task, requiring the utmost forbearance, unselfishness, and wisdom. And of all the great questions dividing the framers of that Constitution perhaps none of them required a higher degree of self-abnegation and patriotism than those touching human slavery.

The situation was one of extreme delicacy. The necessity for a closer and stronger union of all the States was apparently absolute, yet this very necessity seemed to place a whip in the hands of a few States with which to coerce the greater number of States to do their bidding. It seemed that the majority must yield to a small minority on even vital questions, or lose everything.

Thus it was, that instead of an immediate interdiction of the African slave trade, Congress was empowered to prohibit it after the lapse of twenty years; that instead of the basis of Congressional representation being the total population of each State, and that of direct taxation the total property of each State, a middle ground was conceded, which regarded the slaves as both persons and property; and the basis both of representation and of direct taxation was fixed as being the total free population "plus three-fifths of all other persons" in each State; and there was inserted in the Constitution a similar clause to that which we have seen was almost simultaneously incorporated in the "Ordinance of '87," touching the reclamation and return to their owners of fugitive slaves from the free States into which they may have escaped.

The fact of the matter is, that the Convention that framed our Constitution lacked the courage of its convictions, and was "bulldozed" by the few extreme Southern slave-holding States—South Carolina and Georgia especially. It actually paltered with those convictions and with the truth itself. Its convictions—those at least of a great majority of its delegates—were against not only the spread, but the very existence of slavery; yet

we have seen what they unwillingly agreed to in spite of those convictions; and they were guilty moreover of the subterfuge of using the terms "persons" and "service or labor" when they really meant "slaves" and "slavery." "They did this latter," Mr. Madison says, "because they did not choose to admit the right of property in man," and yet in fixing the basis of direct taxation as well as Congressional representation at the total free population of each State, with "three-fifths of all other persons," they did admit the right of property in man! As was stated by Mr. Iredell to the North Carolina ratification convention, when explaining the fugitive slave clause: "Though the word slave is not mentioned, this is the meaning of it." And he added: "The Northern delegates, owing to their peculiar scruples on the subject of slavery, did not choose the word slave to be mentioned."

In March, 1789, the first Federal Congress met at New York. It at once enacted a law in accordance with the terms of the "Ordinance of '87"—adapting it to the changed order of things under the new Federal Constitution—prohibiting slavery in the Territories of the North-west; and the succeeding Congress enacted a Fugitive Slave law.

In the same year (1789) North Carolina ceded her western territory (now Tennessee) south of the Ohio, to the United States, providing, as one of the conditions of that cession, "that no regulation made, or to be made by Congress, shall tend to emancipate slaves." Georgia, also, in 1802, ceded her superfluous territorial domain (south of the Ohio, and now known as Alabama and Mississippi), making, as a condition of its acceptance, that the "Ordinance of '87 shall, in all its parts, extend to the territory contained in the present act of cession, *the article only excepted*, which forbids slavery."

Thus, while the road was open and had been taken advantage of at the earliest moment by the Federal Congress to prohibit slavery in all the territory north-west of the Ohio River by Congressional enactment, Congress considered itself barred, by the very conditions of cession, from inhibiting slavery in the territory lying south of that river. Hence it was that while the spread of slavery was prevented in the one section of our outlying territories by congressional legislation, it was stimulated in the other section by the enforced absence of such legislation. As a necessary sequence, out of the territories of the one section grew more free States, and out of the other more slave States, and this condition of things had a tendency to array the free and the slave States in opposition to each other, and to sectionalize the flames of that slavery agitation which were thus continually fed.

Upon the admission of Ohio to statehood, in 1803, the remainder of the North-west territory became the territory of Indiana. The inhabitants of this territory (now known as the states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin), consisting largely of settlers from the slave states, but chiefly from Virginia and Kentucky, very persistently (in 1803, 1806 and 1807) petitioned Congress for permission to employ slave labor, but—although their petitions were favorably reported in most cases by the committees to which they were referred—without avail, Congress evidently being of opinion that a temporary suspension in this respect of the sixth article of the "Ordinance of '87" was *not expedient*. These frequent rebuffs by Congress, together with the constantly increasing emigration from the free States, prevented the taking of any further steps to implant slavery on the soil of that territory.

Meanwhile the vast territory included within the Valley of the Mississippi, and known at that day as the Colony of Louisiana, was, in 1803, acquired to the United States by purchase from the French—to whom it had but lately been retroceded by Spain. Both under Spanish and French rule, slavery had existed throughout this vast yet sparsely populated region. When we acquired it by purchase, it was already there as an established "institution;" and the treaty of acquisition not only provided that it should be "incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted, as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution," but that its inhabitants, in the mean time, "should be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, *property*, and the religion which they professed"—and as "the right of property in man" had really been admitted in practice, if not in theory, by the framers of that Constitution itself—that institution was allowed to remain there. Indeed, the sparseness of its population at the time of purchase, and the amazing fertility of its soil and adaptability of its climate to slave labor, together with the then recent invention by Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, of that wonderful improvement in the separation of cotton fiber from its seed, known as the "cotton-gin"—which, with the almost simultaneous inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright's cotton-spinning machines and Watt's application of his steam-engine, etc., to them, marvelously increased both the cotton supply and demand, and completely revolutionized the cotton industry—conspired to rapidly and thickly populate the whole region with white slave-holders and black slaves, and to greatly enrich and increase the power of the former.

When Jefferson succeeded in negotiating the cession of that vast and rich domain to the United States, it is not to be supposed that either the

allurements of territorial aggrandizement on the one hand, or the impending danger to the continued ascendancy of the political party which had elevated him to the Presidency, threatening it from all the irritations with republican France likely to grow out of such near proximity to her colony, on the other, could have blinded his eyes to the fact that its acquisition must inevitably tend to the spread of that very evil, the contemplation of which, at a later day, wrung from his lips the prophetic words, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just." It is more reasonable to suppose that, as he believed the ascendancy of the Republican party of that day essential to the perpetuity of the Republic itself, and revolted against being driven into an armed alliance with monarchical England against what he termed "our natural friend," republican France, he reached the conclusion that the preservation of his Republican principles was of more immediate moment than the question of the perpetuation and increase of human slavery. Be that as it may, it none the less remains a curious fact that it was to Jefferson, the far-seeing statesman and hater of African slavery and the author of the Ordinance of 1784—which sought to exclude slavery from all the Territories of the United States south of, as well as north-west of the Ohio River—that we also owe the acquisition of the vast territory of the Mississippi Valley burdened with slavery in such shape that only a war, which nearly wrecked our Republic, could get rid of.

Out of that vast and fertile but slave-ridden old French Colony of "Louisiana" developed in due time the rich and flourishing slave States of Louisiana, Missouri and Arkansas.

It will have been observed that this acquisition of the Colony of Louisiana and the contemporaneous inventions of the cotton-gin, improved cotton-spinning machinery, and the application to it of steam power, had already completely neutralized the wisdom of the Fathers in securing, as they thought, the gradual but certain extinction of slavery in the United States, by that provision in the Constitution which enabled Congress, after an interval of twenty years, to prohibit the African slave trade; and which led the Congress, on March 22, 1794, to pass an act prohibiting it, to supplement it in 1800 with another act in the same direction, and on March 2, 1807, to pass another supplemental act—to take effect January 1, 1808—still more stringent, and covering any such illicit traffic, whether to the United States or with other countries. Never was the adage that, "The best laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft a'glee," more painfully apparent. Slaves increased and multiplied within the land, and enriched their white owners to such a degree that, as the years rolled by, instead of compunctions of conscience on the subject of African slavery in America, the South-

ern leaders ultimately persuaded themselves to the belief that it was not alone moral, and sanctioned by Divine Law, but that to perpetuate it was a philanthropic duty, beneficial to both races! In fact one of them declared it to be "the highest type of civilization."

In 1812, the State of Louisiana, carved from the purchased colony of the same name, was admitted to the Union, and the balance of the Louisiana purchase was thereafter known as the Territory of Missouri.

In 1818 commenced the heated and protracted struggle in Congress over the admission of the State of Missouri—carved from the Territory of that name—as a slave State, which finally culminated in 1820 in the settlement known thereafter as the "Missouri Compromise."

Briefly stated, that struggle may be said to have consisted in the efforts of the House, on the one side, to restrict slavery in the State of Missouri, and the efforts of the Senate, on the other, to give it free rein. The House insisted on a clause in the act of admission providing, "That the introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes whereof the party has been duly convicted; and that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be declared free at the age of twenty-five years." The Senate resisted it—and the bill fell. In the mean time, however, a bill passed both Houses forming the Territory of Arkansas out of that portion of the Territory of Missouri not included in the State of Missouri, without any such restriction upon slavery. Subsequently, the House having passed a bill to admit the State of Maine to the Union, the Senate amended it by tacking on a provision authorizing the people of Missouri to organize a State Government without restriction as to slavery. The House decidedly refused to accede to the Senate proposition, and the result of the disagreement was a Committee of Conference between the two Houses, and the celebrated "Missouri Compromise," which, in the language of another,\* was: "That the Senate should give up its combination of Missouri with Maine; that the House should abandon its attempt to restrict slavery in Missouri; and that both Houses should concur in passing the bill to admit Missouri as a State with "a "restriction or proviso, excluding slavery from all territory north and west of the new State;" that "restriction or proviso" being in these words: "That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, *slavery* and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of

\* Hon. John Holmes, of Massachusetts, of said Committee on Conference, March 2, 1820.

crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, *shall be and is hereby forever prohibited*; *Provided always*, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor and service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid." At a subsequent session of Congress, at which Missouri asked admission as a State with a Constitution prohibiting her Legislature from passing emancipation laws, or such as would prevent the immigration of slaves, while requiring to enact such as would absolutely prevent the immigration of free negroes or mulattoes, a further compromise was agreed to by Congress under the inspiration of Mr. Clay, by which it was laid down as a condition precedent to her admission as a State—a condition subsequently complied with—that Missouri must pledge herself that her Legislature should pass no act "by which any of the citizens of either of the States should be excluded from the enjoyment of the privileges and immunities to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States."

This, in a nutshell, was the memorable Missouri struggle, and the "Compromise," or compromises, which settled and ended it. But during that struggle—as during the formation of the Federal Constitution, and at various times in the interval, when exciting questions had arisen—the bands of National Union were more than once rudely strained, and this time to such a degree as even to shake the faith of some of the firmest believers in the perpetuity of that Union. It was during this bitter struggle that John Adams wrote to Jefferson: "I am sometimes Cassandra enough to dream that another Hamilton, another Burr, may rend this mighty fabric in twain or perhaps into a leash, and a few more choice spirits of the same stamp might produce as many nations in North America as there are in Europe."

It is true that we had "sown the wind," but we had not yet "reaped the whirlwind."

*John A. Pogan*

## WASHINGTON'S FIRST CAMPAIGN

At the beginning of the year 1754, the Virginia authorities determined to take possession of the point of land at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. Accordingly, two companies of one hundred men each were raised, and put under the command of Major George Washington. Of one of the companies William Trent was captain. On the meeting of the Virginia Assembly, a large sum was voted for the defense of the colony, and the force increased to six companies. Colonel Joshua Fry was put in the chief command, and Washington, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, was made second. About the middle of February, an advance party of Trent's men, forty-one in number, had gone forward, and were busily engaged in building a fort on the site of the present city of Pittsburgh, when, on the 17th of April, their operations were suddenly checked by the descent of a large force of French and Indians from Venango. They were reported to be a thousand strong. Their commander was Captain de Contrecoeur. Though their numbers were not so great as reported, it was still a formidable force, and outnumbered the Virginia detachment nearly twenty to one. De Contrecoeur at once sent in an order for the surrender of the place. As it happened, the superior officers of the company were absent at the time, and the command for the moment devolved upon the ensign, whose name was Ward. He was allowed but one hour in which to consider de Contrecoeur's demand. He begged for time to confer with his superiors, but the request was refused. The English, the French officer claimed, had no authority in the valley of the Ohio, and consequently it could not be necessary to consult about it. They were clearly intruders, and must depart at once. As all thought of resistance to such numbers was out of the question, Ensign Ward had nothing to do but to deliver up the unfinished fortification, and betake himself elsewhere. The French were not otherwise severe in their terms, and Ward was allowed to bring away all his men, arms, and working tools.\* The French at once completed the fort, on a larger scale than the English had contemplated, and called it Fort Duquesne, in compliment to the governor of Canada.

Meantime Washington was on his way westward with two companies of about seventy-five men each. He arrived at Wills Creek on the 20th of April. On the 25th he was met there by Ensign Ward, who recounted the

\* Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. II. p. 12.

affair at the Forks of the Ohio. Upon this intelligence, he resolved not to proceed to the Forks until sufficient reinforcements should be received, but to direct his course to the Monongahela, at the mouth of the Redstone. There were at that place storehouses that had been erected by the Ohio Company, and there he could deposit his munitions and supplies. Besides, from that point there would be water-carriage for the heavy artillery, whenever it should be determined to proceed to the Forks of the Ohio. An additional reason was, that, it was desirable to keep the troops employed, in order to prevent the demoralization that would ensue from an inactive camp life, and to encourage the Indians in their allegiance.\* Washington had received some small accessions to his force, and had now about 250 men. The work of making a road through the wilderness was exceedingly difficult, and his progress was slow and tedious. At the Youghiogheny he received word from his old friend, the Half-King, who had been his companion the preceding winter in his trip to Fort Le Boeuf, that a party of French were on the march to meet him. Washington proceeded immediately to a favorable spot called the Great Meadows, where he threw up a breastwork, and put himself in the best possible state of defence. The Great Meadows was a narrow glade beyond the Great Crossing of the Youghiogheny, and about four miles from the eastern base of the Laurel Hill. Washington at once sent out scouts, but they returned without having seen any signs of the enemy. Mr. Gist, however, now made his appearance, and reported that a party of French had been at his house, thirteen miles distant, the day before, and that he had just seen the tracks of the enemy within five miles of the camp.† This was in the morning of the 27th of May. The following night Washington received word from the Half-King, who was encamped with a number of warriors about six miles off, that the enemy was close at hand. Washington with forty men immediately set out for the camp of the Half-King. The night was extremely dark. The rain poured down in torrents. The path was obscure and difficult. "We were frequently tumbling over one another," says Washington, "and often so lost, that fifteen or twenty minutes' search would not find the path again." It was daylight before Washington had joined the Half-King. A council was held, and it was determined to march together, hand in hand, "and strike the French." Two Indians who had been sent out to ascertain the position of the enemy, discovered them in an almost inaccessible retreat at a short distance. A plan of attack was

\* Sparks, Vol. II. p. 15, Note.

† Sparks, Vol. II. p. 25.

agreed upon, and the movement was at once begun. The French discovered their approach, however, and flew to arms. Firing immediately began on both sides, and was continued with vigor for a quarter of an hour, when the French gave up. Their commander, M. de Jumonville, and nine of his men were killed, twenty-two men were taken prisoners, and one man, a Canadian, made his escape at the beginning of the affray. This man, whose name was Mouceau, returned safely to Fort Duquesne. He gave to de Contrecoeur an entirely untruthful account of the affair up to the moment of his escape, which has been perpetuated by the French historians, much to the prejudice of Washington's good name. In the skirmish, Washington had one man killed, and two or three wounded. The Indians escaped unharmed.

Among the prisoners were two principal officers, M. Drouillon and M. La Force, and two cadets, M. de Boucherville and M. du Sablé. With La Force Washington had some acquaintance. He had accompanied Washington a few months before on his journey from Venango to Fort Le Boeuf. He was a dangerous enemy. Washington represents him as "a bold, enterprising man, and a person of great subtlety and cunning." "These officers pretend they were coming on an embassy," writes Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, "but the absurdity of this pretext is too glaring, as you will see by the instructions and summons inclosed. Their instructions were to reconnoiter the country, roads, creeks, and the like, as far as the Potomac, which they were about to do. . . . This, with several other reasons, induced all the officers to believe firmly that they were sent as spies, rather than anything else, and has occasioned my detaining them as prisoners, though they expected, or at least had some faint hope, that they should be continued as ambassadors."\* Washington treated these officers with great kindness, and forwarded them with a letter bespeaking the favor of the Governor; but the history of La Force was such that it was deemed proper to keep him in confinement. He was accordingly put in jail at Williamsburg. About two years afterward, he managed to escape from durance, but was captured before he had proceeded far in his flight, and returned to prison, loaded with chains.† M. Drouillon was sent to England.

Colonel Fry, when on his way to join Washington, died suddenly at Wills Creek, on the 31st of May, and the chief command devolved upon Washington. Some reinforcements had been sent forward, and he now

\* Sparks, Vol. II. p. 33.

† Sparks, Vol II. p. 178, Note.

found himself at the head of about four hundred men. The principal part of these reinforcements was a company of independent troops from South Carolina, under Captain Mackay. As Washington apprehended that as soon as the news of the recent skirmish should reach Fort Duquesne, a stronger party would be sent out against him, he at once set to work to enlarge and strengthen the slight fortification that he had made at Great Meadows. The work was called Fort Necessity.

Washington now renewed his attempt to reach the mouth of the Redstone. Captain Mackay and his company of South Carolinians were left as a guard at the fort, and Washington and his men moved forward. They cleared the path, and made a road as they proceeded, for the passage of artillery and wagons. But the labor was so arduous, that in two weeks they had advanced only as far as Mr. Gist's place, at the second crossing of the Youghiogheny. Here Washington was informed that a very large force of French and Indians were on the march to oppose him. It was determined at first to make a stand at Mr. Gist's; accordingly intrenchments were made, and Captain Mackay was ordered to bring his company forward. At a council of war, however, it was resolved to retire eastward, and the retrograde movement was begun. It was not the intention to remain at Fort Necessity, but when they reached that point the men were found to be so fatigued, and so exhausted from want of food, that it was thought advisable to confront the enemy there. The works were accordingly further strengthened, the ground cleared of trees and bushes, and preparations made for the expected conflict.

They had not long to wait. Early in the morning of July 3d, Washington received word that the enemy, nine hundred strong, was in his near neighborhood. Their commander was M. de Villiers, brother of the unfortunate Jumonville. By eleven o'clock the whole body approached the fort, and began a brisk firing at some little distance, with the object of drawing Washington away from his defenses. But Washington collected his men within the fort, and an interchange of firing was kept up all day, but with no great effect on either side. The rain poured down nearly constantly. The trenches were filled with water, and many of the arms were rendered unserviceable. At the close of the day the French asked for a parley, and that an officer might be sent out to them for that purpose, engaging at the same time for his safety. The request was at first refused, as Washington suspected it to be only a ruse to discover his condition; but upon being repeated Captain Vanbraam, a Dutchman, who professed to have some knowledge of the French language, was sent out. He returned with certain articles of capitulation, which he pretended to interpret. The terms, as

they were explained to Washington, were not rigorous. The English were to be allowed to retire without molestation, with colors flying and drums beating, and to take everything with them except their artillery.\* Washington's force in the battle of Fort Necessity was about four hundred men. Twelve of the Virginia troops were killed, and forty-three were wounded. The loss to Captain Mackay's company is not known. The next morning the English marched out, taking their wounded with them. The men were in a very weak and enfeebled condition from long exposure, hard labor, and insufficient food, and were much encumbered with the baggage and wounded. There was some pilfering of the departing soldiery by the Indians, and some danger of such a horrible tragedy as a few years later took place at Fort William Henry; but this calamity was providentially averted, and the English retired without any serious embarrassment.

Two points in the articles of stipulation afterward involved Washington in some adverse criticism and personal odium. The loyalty of Vanbraam is to be suspected; besides, his knowledge of both English and French was very deficient. Washington did not understand the French language; also, it must be remembered that at this time he was but a youth of barely twenty-two years. One of these points was to the effect that the English should not attempt to make any establishments at that place or west of the mountains for the space of one year.† The language of the article was explained to Washington by Vanbraam to mean that the English would "not attempt buildings or improvements on the lands of his Most Christian Majesty." As Washington denied the right of the French king to the country in the Ohio valley, he very readily assented to the proposition. He was afterward somewhat criticised by his countrymen for granting this stipulation.

Again, the language of one of the articles referred to the death of Jumonville as an assassination. The language used was, "l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville." This was misread and misconstrued by Vanbraam. An officer of the regiment afterward declared that no such word as "assassination" was mentioned. As the article was interpreted, it read, "the death of Jumonville." As it stood, it brought upon Washington a great deal of odium with the French. "We made the English consent to sign," said de Villiers, "that they had assassinated my brother in his camp." The French claimed that Jumonville was proceeding as a peaceful ambassador, and that he had been ruthlessly assassinated by Washington. The French nation grew very warm over it. It was made the subject of an

\* Sparks, Vol. I. p. 56.

† The language of the article was, "Dans ce lieu-ci, ni deçà de la hauteur des terres, pendant une année à compter de ce jour."—*Sparks' Writings of Washington*, Vol. II., Appendix, Note.

epic by M. Thomas, a somewhat distinguished French poet. We have seen the character of Jumonville. He came with a large retinue of armed men. He secreted himself as well as he could in an obscure retreat. He ran to arms immediately on the approach of the Virginians. He made no amicable demonstration whatever. "They pretend that they called to us," says Washington, "as soon as we were discovered, which is absolutely false, for I was at the head of the party in approaching them, and can affirm, that, as soon as they saw us, they ran to their arms without calling, which I should have heard, if they had done so." The character of Jumonville was very dubious, to say the least. While generally just and generous toward Washington, the French have always held up their hands in horror at this act, and have excused it only on account of the youth and inexperience of Washington, and the violence of his men. Captains Vanbraam and Stobo were given as hostages to the French for the return of the prisoners taken in the skirmish with Jumonville. The cartel was not recognized by the authorities. These officers were sent to Canada. After some time Captain Stobo made his escape. Vanbraam seems to have thrown in his lot with the French, and did not afterward return to Virginia. The conduct of Washington and the Virginia troops was highly approved by the Governor and Council, and met with the almost unqualified praise of the people. Washington and his officers received a vote of thanks of the House of Burgesses for their brave and gallant service in defence of their country, while a pistole was granted from the public treasury to each of the soldiers.

The affair of Great Meadows is memorable as the first conflict of arms in the long and bitter war that followed, and as the scene of the first unsheathing of the sword of Washington—a sword that afterward pointed out the path that led his country to liberty and independence.

*N. I. Chapman.*

## PRINCESS OR PRETENDER?

### A LEAF FROM OLD LOUISIANA HISTORY

In the year 1721 began in the colony of Louisiana a romance which, gradually spreading the tidings of itself across the ocean, became, until the year 1771, when its heroine died, a fruitful topic of conversation and speculation in the courts of Russia, Prussia, France and Austria. This romance, wherein figured the accessories of an imperial court; the misfortunes of a lovely, but unhappily married, young princess; a fictitious death and burial; a secret escape and flight from the palace of the Czars at St. Petersburg, and finally a residence *incognito*, and "love in a cottage" on a plantation situated in the wilds of Louisiana, on the Red River; concerned the Grand Duchess Christine, a princess of the German house of Wolfenbittel, wife of the Grand Duke Alexis, son of Peter the Great, and whose son, under the name of Peter II., became Emperor of Russia in 1727, succeeding the Empress Catherine, the wife of his grandfather, the great Czar.

It would be impossible at this day to decide upon the exact truth of the story of the Princess Christine, or Augustine Holden, as she was first known in Louisiana, or Mme. D'Aubant, her subsequent name by marriage to the Chevalier D'Aubant, an officer serving in the troops of the colony. We can only trace her career in the old French chronicles and histories of Louisiana, in a few scattered writings of European celebrities, and also in the modern histories of the State, as well as in two or three romances of the present century. Intermingled with undoubtedly truthful, because historical, details regarding the Princess Christine we find, in some accounts, that glamour of romance which denies that the unhappy woman died in her husband's palace in St. Petersburg about the year 1716, and which affirms that, in point of fact, her death was a pretended death, her burial, with all court honors and ceremonies, a deceptive one, and that, by the aid of her intimate friend and *confidante*, the famous Countess Konigsmark, and two or three faithful retainers, she managed to escape from the palace and from St. Petersburg and to make her way through the Czar's dominions to France whence she sailed from the port of L'Orient for Louisiana. It may be said here that the verdict of history, as uttered in our later histories, has pronounced the pretensions of Augustine Holden, who landed

at Biloxi, on the Mississippi Sound, in 1721, and who afterward claimed to be the Princess Christine, to be those of an imposter; but if it was an imposture, it was one well carried out; if it belonged to that class of doubtful allegations treasured up in the proverbial Italian saying as possibly not *vero*—not true—it at least was *ben trovato*—well invented.

Historically viewed, in what aspect does the story of the Princess Christine present itself? The daughter, as before stated, of the Duke of Wolfenbittel, a German Princeling, Christine marries the Grand Duke Alexis, the eldest son of Peter the Great of Russia, and heir to the throne. Two children were issue of this marriage. One of these, Peter, was born in 1714, and became eventually Emperor of Russia; the other was a girl, Nathalie. Alexis, the husband of the Princess Christine, was a profligate and a man of brutal nature. Her life was made insupportable by his barbarities. It was under these circumstances that, after a most unhappy married life of a few years, she died in 1716 (according to the accepted version of history) and was duly buried, the Emperor Peter, the members of the imperial family, and court officials and dignitaries assisting at the obsequies. Of the unworthy Alexis, it is sufficient to quote the following brief account of his career and fate subsequent to the death of Christine:

"Inclined to low pleasures, and decidedly adverse to that reformation of the ancient manners of the country which it was the object of Peter's life to effect, Alexis secretly quitted Russia, and retired to Naples. By a promise of forgiveness, he was induced to return to Moscow, where he was thrown into prison, tried secretly, and condemned to death. He was found dead in prison, and it was given out that he had been carried off by some natural illness; but suspicions have been generally entertained that a private execution accomplished the end, without incurring the risks of a public one. He died in 1718. Alexis left a son, who, in 1727, became Emperor under the name of Peter II." This Peter, born in 1714, and the son of Christine, died in 1730.

At this stage we depart from the cold, rugged path of history and enter into the flowery ways of mystery and romance, which, in one aspect of the story of her life, diversify the records of the career of Christine of Wolfenbittel. It has been related already, how, after an assumed illness and pretended death, aided by the Countess Konigsmark, mother of the celebrated Marshal Saxe, Christine fled from the palace and from Russia, leaving the mourners to bury an untenanted coffin. In her journeyings and wanderings she was under the charge of an old family retainer—one Walter—who was also privy to her flight. At Lyons, in France, where they lived for a time, she was known as the daughter of Walter, who had styled himself

Mons. De L'Escluse since his entry into France. Following her fortunes, further, we find her eventually, to wit in 1721, still accompanied by Walter (now known as Mons. Walter, as she was called Augustine Walter, his daughter) and a maid, Agatha, sailing from France, among a shipload of German settlers, for Biloxi, in the colony of Louisiana. From that point the Walters, now transformed into Holdens, repaired to the Red River country, where they settled upon a small plantation in the Colonie Roland.

The experiences of Christine as a creation (or a creature, it matters little which) of romance would have been incomplete without the traditional lover; and, indeed, that necessary adjunct to the plot was not wanting in the chapter of her checkered life. At the time when she lived in St. Petersburg also lived in the same city a young officer in the service of the Czar, named by some D'Aubant and by others Maldeck, who was a chevalier of some unmentioned Order. Frederick the Great of Prussia, in a writing concerning him, calls him Maldeck; but D'Aubant appears to have been his name, as he is so styled by all the old French historians who wrote of colonial affairs, and this name has been preserved by the later historians. D'Aubant frequently had seen Christine in public, if not in private at court, and, it may be presumed from later developments, had nourished for her an affection which, although silent and hopeless, was not the less faithful to the object that had aroused it. It is related, also, that one day while Christine and her friend, the Countess Julie B—— were hunting in the Hartz Mountains in Germany, the two, straying from the hunting party, were lost in the forest. D'Aubant chanced to be of the party, and it was his fortune to rescue the fair estrays from their perilous predicament. This incident perhaps tended to attach an additional interest in his mind to the Princess.

When the news of the death of Christine came to the ears of D'Aubant he resolved to leave the Czar's service and depart from St. Petersburg. This he did. He went to France. Subsequently, mournfully impressed by the death of the woman who had been so much in his thoughts, he felt a yearning for that solitude which the crowded and prosaic Old World could not give him. But, before taking this step, a mysterious circumstance had occurred which had much to do with his course. While in France, one day, he saw at the cathedral in Poitiers a woman accompanied by two other women and a man, in whom he recognized, or thought he recognized, the lost Christine. This woman at one time during the service had raised her veil for a moment and had glanced at him, as it seemed to him with a look of recognition. He afterward made inquiries regarding the party and

the next day learned where they lived. He sought the house and in an interview with the daughter of the owner of the house, who happened to be one of the three women he had seen at the church, he was told that the strangers were a traveling party on their way from Lyons to the port of L'Orient, whence they were to set sail for Louisiana. The man he had seen was a Monsieur De L'Escluse, the veiled woman was his daughter, and the other female was her maid Agatha. Before he took his departure from the house a slip of paper was given him by the woman whom he had questioned, who had received it from the guest of the day before, with instructions that it be given to him if he should call at the house and ask concerning her. On it was written in a woman's hand:

I have drunk of the waters of Lethe;  
Hope yet remains to me.

These were the circumstances, therefore, which influenced D'Aubant to seek Louisiana. There was a chance that he might meet her in the wilds of that new land, if indeed it were Christine, and not a phantom of the imagination which had appeared before his eyes. Before his mind came continually the half-veiled face of the cathedral. Was it, indeed, Christine, whom all believed to be long dead and buried? Impossible! And yet, the scrap of paper that had been left in trust for him with the significant lines upon it—memory, the souvenirs of the past, instinct, perhaps—all declared to his heart that, unreal as it seemed, it was she.

At L'Orient he heard more of the party. They had just sailed in a vessel bound for Biloxi, a post and settlement west of Mobile. The man was no longer called De L'Escluse, however; now, it was a Monsieur Walter with his daughter and two servants who had sailed with some German settlers in a ship belonging to the India Company. Eagerly D'Aubant waited for the departure of the next vessel destined for Louisiana. One sailed in a very few days. Taking with him all his fortune in the shape of money, with which he had decided to purchase land in Louisiana and become a planter, he took passage in the ship. On the voyage out he once heard of Christine and her companions. The ship on which he sailed touched at Teneriffe. There he learned that a certain ship, which was weighing anchor preparatory to leaving the port, as they entered the harbor, was the vessel in which they had sailed.

D'Aubant's vessel finally left Teneriffe, and without any misadventure arrived at Mobile. Almost immediately after landing he began to search for Christine. He heard of their arrival at Biloxi, and of their departure from that point for New Orleans; but that was all. He pursued his

investigations, but nowhere could he hear of a family named Walter or De L'Escluse, which had come to, or departed from, any settlement in the colony. He was in despair. They had gone traveling so as to avoid questionings and observation, to the Illinois country—perhaps to Canada or Mexico. If it was Christine, he could understand why she should wish to preserve her *incognito*.

Without altogether abandoning hope, he next turned his thoughts to selecting a locality for his plantation home. He chose a beautiful spot on the Red River to which he gave the name of Valley of Christine. Thither, accompanied by a colony of some sixty persons, which he had organized, he repaired and established himself.

The reader will remember that on the arrival of Christine in Louisiana, Walter had changed his name to Walter Holden. It was under this name, therefore, that he was known after his departure from Biloxi, as Christine was known as Augustine Holden, his daughter. As the Holdens they also finally settled in the Colonie Roland, on the Red River. This change of name, it may be presumed, was the cause of D'Aubant's failure to trace them in their journeyings, subsequent to their leaving Biloxi.

Fate was not long in bringing Christine and the Chevalier D'Aubant together. The Valley of Christine and the Colonie Roland, the respective homes of the two, were about fifty miles apart, and by a train of circumstances, most natural in the condition of affairs, D'Aubant was led one day to visit the Colonie Roland. There he saw Christine. Disguise, then, was useless. Christine was troubled—agitated; but she confessed to her identity. She begged him to preserve her secret as he would his life, and told him of her simulated death and of her flight. She had recognized him, she said, at Poitiers, and, not thinking that they ever would meet again, she had left for him the paper which had been given him by the daughter of the man at whose house they had lodged. She had sought to avoid him, however, as she wished to be thought, by him as by all the world, as no longer among the living.

The interest which D'Aubant previously had felt in Christine now changed to devotion. He besought her to induce Walter to remove to the Valley of Christine, there to live. She yielded to his solicitations, and not long after this first meeting the Holdens joined D'Aubant's colony.

Here began the happiest years of Christine's life. Under the shade of the trees of the Valley of Christine, where feathered songsters, undismayed, sang their songs of love and promise, she listened with throbbing heart to the words of the man whom she had learned to love. She was a widow. Years had passed since Alexis had ceased to exist. Perhaps sometimes pride

—memories of that high estate which once had marked her for the exalted rank of Empress of Russia—may have intervened to cause her to hesitate at the idea of becoming the wife of a simple gentleman. But as she recalled her years of self-sacrifice and of bitter disappointments near a throne, the contrast was too favorable to allow her to reject, in that humble and peaceful home on the Red River, the compensation which the hand of a kindly Fate seemed to hold out for her acceptance. The birds sang her epithalamium on the day when, having consented to become the Chevalier D'Aubant's wife, she was married to the man of her choice and of her heart by a priest from the neighboring Spanish post of Andayes.

In this period of quiet contentment but one obstacle remained to her complete happiness; she mourned, as only a mother can mourn, for her children, absent and forever lost to her, Petrovich and Nathalie.

As a planter D'Aubant prospered. Two children, daughters, were born to him and Christine. More than twenty years passed in peace in the Valley of Christine.

In the course of years D'Aubant's health became a matter of solicitude to him and to Christine. In order to obtain medical advice he sold his Louisiana estate and they went to Paris, taking with them their daughters, now grown to womanhood.

In Paris began a new phase in Christine's life. D'Aubant's health was improved, but it was considered advisable that he should seek a home in a more balmy clime than that of Louisiana. They, therefore, lingered in Paris, endeavoring to obtain D'Aubant's appointment as officer in the military service in the Isle of Bourbon. One day, during this interval, Christine was walking in the gardens of the Tuileries, accompanied by her daughters. They were conversing in German. A distinguished man and an admirer of the fair sex, Marshal Saxe, attracted by the sound of his own language, approached them and spoke to them. He was the son, as before mentioned in the course of this sketch, of that Countess of Konigsmark who had aided Christine to escape, and was at that time at the height of his fame as a great and successful general. He recognized Christine, in spite of the years that had intervened since the days of her girlhood.

He promised to respect her secret, at least until she should have left Paris, when, he said, he would feel it his duty to inform the King of his discovery. Satisfied with this, Christine and D'Aubant left the city shortly after and went to the Isle of Bourbon, D'Aubant with a commission as Major of troops, obtained through the Marshal's influence. After their departure Saxe told Louis XV. of the incident. The King thereupon

ordered that the Governor of the Isle of Bourbon be instructed to treat the Chevalier D'Aubant and his family with every consideration. He also wrote to the Empress of Austria, who was Christine's niece, informing her that her aunt was still alive. The Empress wrote to Christine, inviting her to take up her residence at the Imperial Court. But, happy in her new home with her husband and children, she declined the proposition and continued to dwell in the Isle of Bourbon.

Death at last broke into the happiness of Christine's life. D'Aubant died, and not long after he was followed to the grave by his daughters. Bereft of husband and children, Christine returned to Europe, and made her residence at the city of Brunswick, her expenses being met by a pension granted her by the Empress of Austria. At last she entered a convent in Paris, and there, in the year 1770, or 1771, she died. It is related that during her last illness, just before her death, she opened her eyes, which had been closed in a seeming sleep. "I have had a beautiful dream," she said, "and now comes the awakening."

In what I have written above is given the substance of the experiences of the Christine of romance, of surmise, and of court gossip. But one thing remains to complete the narrative, and that is, turning from the aspect of romance that has been presented to the reader, to reverse the medal and to show Augustine Holden in the light of history, as associated with the colonial records of Louisiana.

Judge Martin in his *History of Louisiana*, the standard history of the State, thus briefly summarizes the story of the woman whose fortunes we have followed:

"Two hundred German settlers of Law's grant were landed in the month of March (1721) at Biloxi, out of twelve hundred who had been recruited. The rest had died before they embarked or on the passage. . . . There came among the German new-comers a female adventurer. She had been attached to the wardrobe of the wife of the Czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz, the only son of Peter the Great. She imposed on the credulity of many persons, but particularly on that of an officer of the garrison of Mobile (called by Bossu the Chevalier D'Aubant, and by the King of Prussia Maldeck), who having seen the princess at St. Petersburg imagined he recognized her features in those of her former servant, and gave credit to the report which prevailed that she was the Duke of Wolfenbittel's daughter" (the wife of the Czarowitz), "and the officer married her."

*Charles Dring.*

## THE NEW-YEAR'S HOLIDAY

### ITS ORIGIN AND OBSERVANCES

There is a touch of the old Roman superstition yet extant concerning auspicious beginnings. The world seems much better worth living in when the first day of the year has been spent satisfactorily. The precise origin of the setting apart of this day as a special holiday is lost in the mist of ages ; but its observances date from very high antiquity. The Christians borrowed the customs and ceremonials which distinguished it from the old Romans—who were no inventors, but obedient to the beliefs and customs of their fathers and fathers' fathers—and who dedicated New-Year's-day to a double-faced Latin deity, called Janus. The name Janus appears to be a corruption of Diana, and the Goddess Diana identical with the daughter of King Zeus, who was the twin sister of Apollo, and who in the Trojan war sided with the Trojans and quarreled with Hera, the wife of Jupiter, snatching the bow from her back and beating her with it most unmercifully. Homer represents Hera as the great national divinity, a sort of earth goddess of fine manners and good breeding, although sometimes very cross to poor Jupiter ; and as she often sat on one hand of King Zeus at state banquets, and, as we are taught, could compel the sun to go to bed that the long day which was to be the last of the Trojan prosperity might close in the middle of the afternoon, we may consider her quite capable of projecting the New-Year's holiday, and, further, of designing the mode in which it should be perpetuated and celebrated to the end of time. At all events, whether the gods and heroes of Mythology had any part in its origin or otherwise, circumstantial evidence points in their direction. Romulus, who was said to be the son of Mars, and no doubt on terms of intimacy with his mythological relations, introduced the worship of Janus into Rome 753 B.C. His successor, Numa, the second antehistorical King of Rome, paid Janus the compliment of naming the first month in the year January.

In ancient Rome all undertakings that were commenced on the first day of the New Year were expected to terminate successfully. The Roman magistracy invariably entered upon their duties on New-Year's morning, and the whole nation knelt in prayer with the early dawn. The entire day was deemed sacred. The rulers banqueted after the manner of the gods, and, imitating the intellectual Greeks, had music throughout the meal. Gentlemen not infrequently paused between the courses to sing songs with lyre accompaniments. The peasantry wore festal garments in the streets, and journeyed great distances to bring presents to the Emperor—a compulsory tribute. They also gave gifts to each other of dates, figs, plums, cakes, and copper coins with the double head of Janus upon them. No

one would lend anything or suffer a neighbor to take fire out of his house, or anything of iron, on New-Year's-day.

The early Fathers of the Church tried to suppress these practices, which they denounced as heathenish and savoring too much of idolatry. Claudius I., who was a reformer as well as a tolerable scholar and author, modified the ancient fashion by a decree, chiefly because of his dislike to the pagan performances attending presentations—which were considered as omens of prosperity for the coming year. It was this monarch who converted the southern portion of the British Isle into a Roman Province, and waged a war with Germany; thus, while he labored to suppress New-Year's observances in his own country, he was instrumental in spreading the custom all over Europe. It was caught and perpetuated in England for a succession of centuries. Even under the Tudors and Stuarts the English nobility, according to "ancient custom," sent the king a purse of gold "every New-Year's tide," and presents were made among all classes of people. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth the lords of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, the chief officers of state, and the servants of the royal household down to the master-cook, sergeant of the pantry, and dustman, contributed to the wardrobe and jewelry of Her Majesty every New-Year's-day. In the time of Charles II., the gifts to the sovereign were mostly made in plate.

The Germans and the Holland Dutch interpreted in a broader sense the pretty notion which had come down to them from the old Romans. If good fortune attended all business enterprises beginning with the first day of the year, why might not friendships be more secure if begun or cemented on that same propitious occasion? Thus was inaugurated the delightful custom of New-Year's visits—a custom which the Dutch brought to America with them nearly three centuries ago, and which has been, from that period until the present hour, one of the most important social observances of the year. The winter holidays or Christmas season in Dutch New York occupied some two or three weeks, and, commonly, all public business was suspended until the hilarity was over. The Christmas festival, elaborately described in a former number of this Magazine [X. 471], was particularly distinguished by boisterous revels, and great men became trifling and frolicsome.

But New-Year's-day was quite another affair. Dignity was everywhere observable. Ladies were never to be seen in the streets; they were in their decorated homes, in the richest of apparel, welcoming the chief magnates of the colony with stately courtesy and becoming grace. The French and English who subsequently settled in New York fell in with the established custom, and soon became more devoted to its agreeable exactions than even the Dutch themselves. No gentleman of that early school, who esteemed himself eligible to good society, ever thought of omitting to visit his lady acquaintances on the first day of the year; and in the mean time the English habit of making presents on New-Year's-day instead of Christmas was adopted by the Dutch.

Until the Revolution, the custom of making New-Year's calls was confined

strictly to New York—no other American city or town having even so much as contemplated borrowing it. To Washington, when he came to reside in New York as the first President of the new Republic, it was a novelty. New-Year's came on Friday, in 1790; Mrs. Washington was therefore at home, it being her usual day of the week for receiving calls. The President stood beside her, with all the stiffness for which he was remarkable. Guests began to arrive at noon, and, during the afternoon hours, came the Vice-President, the Governor, the Senators, Representatives, Foreign public characters, and all the principal gentlemen of the city; while, in the evening, such as remained were served to tea, coffee, and plum and plain cake. Washington's curiosity found expression before the company finally departed. He asked a New Yorker whether such usages were casual or otherwise, and, being told that New-Year's calling had always been a feature of New York life, observed, with emphasis: "The highly favored situation of New York will, in the process of years, attract numerous emigrants, who will gradually change its ancient customs and manners; but, whatever changes take place, never forget the cordial and cheerful observance of NEW-YEAR'S-DAY."

Since then the custom has winged its way to the remotest corners of the land, from ocean to ocean, until nearly every place of any size on the American continent maintains a general interchange of civilities on New-Year's-day. In the city of Washington, as in New York, it might appropriately be called "Gentleman's Day." No bright colors enliven the streets; but dark clouds of broadcloth are drifted by the gusts of inclination or duty, in all directions. Industry retires from public view, not a business vehicle cumpers the broad thoroughfares. Carriages filled with gentlemen line the avenues of travel, and a gentlemanly throng blockades the sidewalks.

The custom like other customs has had its abuses. At one period the unmannerly young man multiplied himself indefinitely in order to gain access to high places. But when the ladies found they were compelled to greet dudes and strangers instead of expected friends, they corrected the impertinence by sending cards as for any other reception. This special abuse came through the rapid influx of people from other communities, and was confined chiefly to the metropolis.

In Washington the assemblage of visitors on New-Year's-day at the Executive Mansion is one of the most brilliant of the year. The ladies of the Cabinet officers, of the Chief-Justice, and Justices of the Supreme Court, and of the Foreign Ministers, in full dress, usually pay their respects to the President and the ladies of his household, in company with their husbands, and then return to their own parlors to receive during the remainder of the day. Through a whim of fashion the time-honored custom has recently been frowned upon by some of the leaders in New York society—but for how long is an open question. The New-Year's holiday not being an offspring of fashion in any sense, and its observances having been entailed through the ages, the chances are very slight that it will be permanently affected by so erratic a power.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

*General C. F. Smith's Unpublished Report of the Capture of Fort Donelson.*

[Copied by the Editor, from General C. F. Smith's manuscript in pencil in possession of his daughter, Mrs. Marshall Oliver, Annapolis, Maryland.]

H<sup>d</sup> Quarters 2<sup>nd</sup> Division  
District of West Tenn<sup>e</sup>  
Pittsburg, Tenn<sup>e</sup>  
March 29, 1862

The Asst Adj't Gen<sup>l</sup>  
H<sup>d</sup> Quarters District West Tenn  
Savannah, Tenn.

Sir

I present to the Major Gen<sup>l</sup> commanding the District the following as the Report of the operations of my Division during the attack on Fort Donelson.

The first Brigade commanded by Colonel McArthur, 9<sup>th</sup> Ills., consisting of the 9<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, and 41<sup>st</sup> Ills. Infantry, was detached during almost the entire period of our three days operations, and hence its service did not come under my personal notice, save to a very limited extent. It is well known to me however they did gallant service; and as no official notice has been taken of this so far as I am aware, I take pleasure in transmitting herewith the reports of the Reg<sup>nt</sup>l Commanders, with a list of the casualties in the Brigade, amounting to 70 killed, and 340 wounded.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Brigade commanded by Col Morgan L Smith, of the 8<sup>th</sup> Mo, consisting in part of his own Reg<sup>nt</sup>, and the 11<sup>th</sup> Ind<sup>a</sup>, was in like manner detached, and as the Report of General Wallace indicates, performed most distinguished services.

Co<sup>s</sup> C of the 2<sup>d</sup> (Capt F) and I, of the 4<sup>th</sup> regular Cavalry (Lt Powell)—the squadron commanded by (the) captain (of) the former—belonging to the Division were detached from it, from before the fall of Fort Henry until after the fall of Fort Donelson. It is within my knowledge they did gallant and effective service for which they have thus far received no credit. I take pleasure therefore in transmitting with this the Report of Lt Powell (Capt F. being absent on account of ill health) and commending both officers to the favorable notice of the government.

That part of the Division under my immediate orders was organized as follows; the 3<sup>d</sup> Brigade, commanded by Col John Cooke 7<sup>th</sup> Ills consisted of his own regiment commanded by Lt Col Babcock, 50<sup>th</sup> Ills (Col Bane), 12<sup>th</sup> Iowa (Col Wood) 52<sup>nd</sup> Ind<sup>a</sup> (Col Smith,) & 13<sup>th</sup> Missouri (Col. Wright). The 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade commanded by Col Lauman, 7<sup>th</sup> Iowa, consisting of his own regiment commanded by Lt Col Parrott, 2<sup>nd</sup> Iowa, Col Tuttle, 14<sup>th</sup> Iowa, Col Shaw, 25<sup>th</sup> Indiana, Col Veatch, and

16<sup>th</sup> M<sup>o</sup> (commonly called Western sharp shooters) Lt Col Compton, the 2<sup>d</sup> Battalion, 1<sup>st</sup> M<sup>o</sup> light-artillery, commanded by Major Cavender, consisting of 3 batteries of 4 Parrott guns each—10 & 20 pounders, commanded respectively by Captains Welcker, Richardson, and Stone.

Arriving on the evening of February 12<sup>th</sup> at a short distance from the outwork of the enemy on his right, the investment of the place was partially commenced by throwing the 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade on our left, and the 3<sup>d</sup> Brigade on its right, joining the 1<sup>st</sup> division on the right with the first (McArthur) Brigade in reserve, with a battery in advance on the road leading to Dover and Fort Donelson.

Early on the following morning (13<sup>th</sup>) the regiments were posted in order of investment, in easy cannon range of the enemy's line of defence from the West—his extreme right to the South a somewhat central position with reference to that line, going as far off as possible to the left of the 1<sup>st</sup> division.

The ground covered by the division was thickly wooded, and exceedingly hilly and broken. The enemy's works were on the highest ground in the vicinity; he had an Infantry breastwork in front of his main line (vulgarly called rifle pits) crested with logs from under which they fired; the whole strengthened by a wide *abattis* from felled timber of large size.

Ignorant of the ground we had to feel our way cautiously; as soon as the regiments were measurably in position, orders were given to Brigade commanders to cover our front of attack with as many skirmishers as possible, well supported by their regiments, keeping a strong reserve; to press forward as steadily and rapidly as the ground would admit, and if the opportunity offered to assault with the bayonet.

During this time Major Cavender's batteries, by sections or pieces, were posted to the best apparent advantage, well supported, with orders to open on the enemy. This was handsomely done and quick response made. Our pieces were shifted from time to time, and served with good effect, better as we afterward knew from the enemy than was suspected; their long ranges sending shells into the Fort, and causing sharp loss and great moral effect. Our casualties were numerous on this day. The Reports of the different commanders partially confirmed by my personal observations satisfied me that an assault on almost any part of the entire front covered by us was not practicable, without enormous sacrifice of life.

At night-fall the skirmishers were recalled and the troops ordered to remain in position, but from necessity without fires, as the night was very inclement—rainy, snow and sleet and cold—the discomfort of the men was very great.

On the next day (14<sup>th</sup>) the same system of annoyance was kept up but, under the orders of the Commanding general to a more limited extent. At night-fall the advance parties were recalled as before. Our casualties of this day were not so numerous as the day before. The night inclement as before with the same discomfort. During the course of this day I made a personal reconnoissance of the ground on our extreme left and satisfied myself that the only apparent practicable

point of assault was in that quarter—the enemy's extreme right being protected by an impassable slough which fact was communicated to the Commanding general.

Under the orders of the Commanding general the Division remained quiet on the next day (15<sup>th</sup>) except to keep up the annoyance by skirmishers and slow artillery fire, until towards 3 o'clock P. M. when I received the general's personal order to assault the enemy's right—a half mile or more from my habitual position. On the receipt of the order the artillery was ordered to open heavily and the Brigade commanders to press forward with large numbers of skirmishers, and make a dash at any available opening; whilst the 2<sup>nd</sup> Iowa—supported by the 52<sup>nd</sup> Ind<sup>a</sup> (belonging to the 3<sup>d</sup> Brigade, but which had been posted to guard the left) 25<sup>th</sup> Ind<sup>a</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> Iowa, &c—was ordered to lead the assault. This regiment was ordered to rely on the bayonet and not to fire a shot until the enemy's ranks were broken. Right gallantly was the duty performed. The left wing of the regiment under its Col (Tuttle) moved steadily over the open space down the ravine and up the rough ground covered with large timber in unbroken line, regardless of the fire poured into it, and paused not until the enemy broke and fled. It was quickly followed by the other wing under its Lt Col (Baker) in the same manner; the united body pursuing the enemy through their encampment and towards the enemy's works just above, where they skirmished for a considerable time. The movement of this regiment was a very handsome exhibition of soldierly conduct.

The 52<sup>d</sup> Ind<sup>a</sup> ordered to follow and support the 2<sup>nd</sup> Iowa, from the nature of the ground and want of tactical knowledge, instead of going to the left as I had intended, came up (in) confusion, and instead of moving forward, remained behind the earthwork just taken, from where and from some unexplained cause fired fatal shots into their friends in front. They remained in this position until sent to reform in the rear.

The 25<sup>th</sup> Ind<sup>a</sup> following in order moved in advance to the support of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Iowa, and covered it when that regiment for want of cartridges retired behind the intrenchments just taken from the infantry of the enemy.

As soon as the outwork was taken I sent for a section of Stone's battery, which soon arrived and opened upon the enemy with happy effect silencing a heavy gun—24 pounder. Meantime the regiments of the 3<sup>d</sup> (Cooke's) Brigade arrived but as it was getting late I deemed it better to dispose of the troops for the night and be in readiness for a renewed assault on the morrow—the crest of the enemy's works being only some 400 yards distant, and the ground more or less favorable.

Increasing the artillery on the ground first taken by a couple of 20 pounder Parrott guns, the 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade was disposed to guard the position, with the 3<sup>d</sup> Brigade in reserve several hundred yards in rear.

The 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Iils (1<sup>st</sup> Brigade) having reported at this time, the latter was thrown forward around the base of the hill towards the enemy's main work; the 9<sup>th</sup> remaining in reserve. The night was cold, but neither the hail storm—

## MINOR TOPICS

### THE BLADENSBURG RACES

*Letter from ex-Postmaster-General, Hon. Horatio King.*

*Editor of Magazine of American History :*

I wish I had known of an amusing production, which has unexpectedly come into my hands, touching "The Bladensburg Races," since your contributor, Colonel Norton, wrote me asking for some appropriate accompaniment to the burlesque British engraving of the "Burning of Washington," in your December issue. This is a ballad of sixty-eight stanzas, somewhat after the style of "John Gilpin's Ride." It opens in this wise :—

"JAMES MADISON a soldier was,  
Of courage and renown,  
And *Generalissimo* was he  
Of famous Washington.

Quoth Madison unto his spouse,  
'Though frightened we have been  
These two last tedious weeks, yet we  
No enemy have seen.

To-morrow is the twenty-fourth,  
And much indeed I fear  
That then, or on the following day  
That Cockburn will be here.'

'To-morrow, then,' quoth she, 'we'll fly  
As fast as we can pour  
Northward, unto Montgomery,  
All in our coach and four.

'My sister Cutts, and Cutts and I,  
And Cutts's children three,  
Will fill the coach ;—so you must ride  
On horseback after we.'

He soon replied, 'I do admire  
Of human kind but one,  
And you are she, my *Dolly* dear ;  
Therefore it shall be done.' "

The "Generalissimo" thereupon prepares for the trip—saying his "trusty steed the Griffin bold," would "safely bear him through"—that he, with the members of his Cabinet, "would start as though for Bladensburg," but when they had cleared the town they would put "for Montgomery, and o'take the coach at early noon." This seemed greatly to please "Mistress Dolly," on whose ruddy cheek he pressed a kiss—

"O'erjoyed was he to find,  
Though bent on running off, she'd still  
His *honor* in her mind."

Fearing the "mob should grumble loud," the coach was not allowed to start from the White House ; but "six precious souls, and all agog," entered it "at brother Cutts's"—

"Smack went the whip, 'round went the wheels,  
Were never folks so glad :  
The dust did rise beneath the coach,  
As though the dust were mad."

The "General" mounted to follow, when, "looking back," he "saw his Cabinet behind."

"'Monroe, you're late !' quoth Madison,  
'Tis late, indeed, I fear,  
For us to steer for Bladensburg :  
The British are so near.' "

And now, as

"The Cabinet on horseback sat,"

They "reasoned high," as to whether they should set out for the camp,

"Or northward straight should fly."

Before the council ended "Cuffee screamed, 'De Shappo-hat and sword'" of the General "'be leave behind,'" when he was directed to bring them at once. This caused a little delay, but the "gallant Four"—Madison, Monroe, Armstrong and Rush (the "Boatswain," Secretary of the Navy, was detained) soon reached the "country road," when they moved on rapidly, not a little accelerated by the

"loud blast of a bugle-horn," which disturbed "our hero," the General, "it scared his horse so."

"Away went he—and after him  
Our heroes rode apace,—  
They little dreamt when they set out,  
Of running such a race."

With some mishaps and much trepidation, they at length all "came unto the spot, where Winder's forces lay," when they anxiously inquired :

"Where are the British ? Winder, where ?  
And Cockburn, where is he ?—  
D'ye think your men will fight, or run,  
When they the British see ?'"

Now, telling Armstrong and Rush to "stay here in camp," the "General," with Monroe as his "Aid," said he would return—adding :

"And, Winder, do not fire your guns,  
Nor let your trumpets play,  
Till we are out of sight—Forsooth,  
My horse will run away.'"

They flew toward Montgomery, the "General :

"Then, speaking to his horse, he said,  
'I am in haste to dine :  
'Twas for *your* pleasure I came here ;  
You shall go back for mine.'

Now, at Montgomery, his wife  
Out of the window spied  
Her gallant husband, wond'ring much  
To see how he did ride.

'Stop, stop ! your Highness, here's the house !'  
They all at once did roar ;  
'Here, at Montgom'ry, you're as safe  
As ten miles off, or more.'

'Stop him, Monroe ! here's sister Cutts,  
The girls, and Cutts, and I ;  
The dinner's cold, and we are tir'd !'  
Monroe says, 'So am I.'"

But the distant cannonade so frightened the steeds, that "neither horse nor

James a whit inclined to tarry there," and, with Monroe, the "General" kept on until they finally brought up at Frederick, much to the astonishment of everybody on the road—the women thinking "our General rode express:"

"And so he did; for he first bore  
The news to Frederick-town;  
Nor stopt from where he first got up,  
Till he again got down.

Now, long live Madison, the brave!  
And Armstrong, long live he!  
And Rush, and Cutts, Monroe and Jones!  
And Dolly, long live She!

And when—their Country's cause at stake,  
Our General and Monroe  
Next take the field, to lead our troops  
Against th' invading foe;

But fly their posts—ere the first gun  
Has echo'd o'er the wave,  
Stop! stop! Potomac! stop thy course!  
Nor pass MOUNT VERNON'S GRAVE!"

The whole production reveals an undercurrent of disrespect and bitterness—especially toward Madison—which leads to the supposition that the verses were written very soon after the battle. They were printed in 1816, but the author of them, so far as I am aware, is unknown.

H. K.

WASHINGTON, December 2, 1885.

## REPRINTS

### TWO EXCEPTIONALLY INTERESTING LETTERS

*James Meyrick (London) to Benedict Arnold, in 1781.*

*John Hancock to General Washington, in 1781.*

[From a rare copy of the *Oriental Miscellany*: or, *Authentic Repository of all Public Events*, from June, 1781, to January, 1782. Printed in London, England.]

#### (FIRST LETTER.)

"The following Copy of a Letter written by Mr. MEYRICK, one of the American Agents in London, to the famous General ARNOLD, was found in the Packet, which was intercepted in its Passage to New York :

Parliament-street, 30<sup>th</sup> Jan, 1781.

Sir,

I have received the honour of your different letters, inclosing bills of Exchange upon Harley and Drummond (bankers to the Court), to the amount of 5000*l.* sterling, of the receipt of which I regularly gave you notice. On the day they were paid, I placed the sum in the funds, in compliance with your intimation ; and as the time was extremely favourable, I flatter myself with the pleasure of meeting your approbation, and that you will be pleased with the manner in which I have disposed of it.

As it is proposed that some orders may arrive from you, directing the disposal of your money in some different way from that in which I have employed it, I thought it best not to shut it up entirely, as a long time might elapse before I received from you the necessary powers for transferring the capital, in case I had purchased the stock in your name ; mean while the dividends could not be received for your use.—The method I have adopted is commonly practised in similar cases, and I can immediately alter it in whatever manner you think proper, as soon as you will do me the honour to give me notice of your sentiments by a letter. The account is as follows :

Bought by Mess. Samuel and William Scholey, Stock Brokers, for Major-general Arnold, 7000*l.* sterling in the new annuities, at 72½ per cent. in the manner following :

	£.	s.	d.
Under the name of Major-general Benedict Arnold, 100 <i>l.</i> sterling stock, at 7½ per cent. in the new consolidated annuities, at 4 per cent, and 6,900 <i>l.</i> sterling in the same fund, under the name of James Meyrick Esq.			
Commission to the Brokers	4.987	10	0
Letter of attorney for receiving the dividends		8	15 0
		0	1 6
	£4.996	6	6

There then remains of the 5000*l.* three pounds thirteen shillings and sixpence.

Thus by this method, if I receive any instructions from you for employing your money in a different manner, I can sell out the 6,900*l.* and dispose of your money agreeable to your directions before this letter reaches you ; and if it is your wish that it should remain in the funds, it can be placed under your name, by my transferring the 6,900*l.* and joining it to your 100*l.* The reason of my purchasing the latter sum in your name was, that you might have an account open. The letter of attorney, here enclosed, enables me also to receive the dividends for the whole 7000*l.* after I have transferred, if it is your wish that I should do it. I hope that I have now explained everything sufficiently, and I can assure you, I have acted with greater care in this transaction than if it had been for myself.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

James Meyrick.

Major-general Arnold, New York."

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(SECOND LETTER.)

*From the Jamaica Royal Gazette.*

[The character of Washington's letter which called forth such a vigorous response from John Hancock may easily be inferred.]

"Sir

I received your two letters ; and that your sentiments might be as fully conveyed to Congress as they are to me, I sent copies of both to each member, which as the subject was of such a nature as to make its general publication dangerous to the States, we had a private Meeting to consider of it.

After recapitulating your conduct since you were invested with command, and minutely examining the motives that induced you to take up arms in defence of your country, we must readily acquit you of any sinister design, any selfish view, or any treasonable intention. You have, as a General, acted with a prudent caution, and avoided any decisive action with the enemy. This undoubtedly was an original plan ; and you have well executed it. If there were any opportunities which might have gained an advantage for the army of the States, and which offered themselves in the want of Generalship in the enemy, such opportunities, in being omitted, are not chargeable to your account.

We recollect the strict injunctions you had not to risk a battle, and we console ourselves in the loss of a few advantages, by your many escapes from danger, when an attack by the enemy might have finally put an end to your hopes. These escapes, Sir, we attribute as well to your military skill, as to the hand of Providence.

Hitherto we have been distinguished by many marks of Providence in our favour. We have now the assurance of two great allies, from whose interposition we had but very faint hopes at the beginning of the war. Those nations have taken a decided part in our favour ; and, as it was the world's opinion, that in the last war between the House of Bourbon and the House of Hanover, America was the ally that turned the scale in favour of Great Britain, so are we now to hope that she will preponderate with equal weight on the sides of France and Spain. To talk therefore of making a submission is to talk idly. We are now a match for our haughty enemy ; they know it, they dread it, and the language of some persons speak it.

You say that our finances are low, and our paper money not current ; that the troops are discontented, and in some parts almost famishing ; you likewise tell us of innumerable desertions, and that the disaffected are many.

All these Mr. Washington, may be true, and it is what we are to expect. But Great Britain herself has dissatisfied men in her army, her navy, and her Senate. We have convincing proofs every day of a kindling rebellion in the very heart of that proud empire. Trust me, Mr. Washington, Heaven has great things yet in store for us ; and with such a prospect, it is blasphemy against the cause we fight in to utter a distrust of Providence. As to our credit being low, so is that of England. Our paper currency is as good as their Stocks. The value of either is ideal, and the only difference lies in long custom having established English faith, and want of time to prove American punctuality, having raised suspicions of our honesty. We should, therefore, by every stratagem, keep up the spirits of the people : their despondence alone can do credit an injury.

Disaffection is dangerous, and therefore, by severity in punishment should be stopped. A few examples always deter the herd ; and if you practice, you will find good consequences in the advice. As to deserters, if they will not go over to the enemy, it is only an inconvenience *pro tempore* : we generally get them again, either as recruits, or by proclamation of pardon. But, Sir, you surprise us in saying the troops are famished. The ratio of provision is regularly paid for, and our contractors are honest men. There surely must be some mistake in that part of your letter, or the complaints made to you are without foundation. However, an enquiry into that supposed grievance shall instantly be made ; and I can pledge myself to you, in name of Congress, that the cause, if any, shall be immediately done away.

The last dispatches we had from Dr. Franklin speak highly of the honourable mention in which the army under your command made throughout the French dominions ; and he gives us every assurance, that so soon as the channel fleet of Britain is blocked up in Portsmouth, and that Rodney is defeated in the West Indies, a reinforcement of both men and money will be sent to America. The great superiority of the House of Bourbon at sea gives the man authority to talk in high terms of doing as they please with the British fleet. Indeed the navy of

England cannot thrive so fast now as it did last war ; for every difficulty that the ingenious devices of some persons there can form is daily practiced to prevent the first Lord of the Admiralty from doing his business. Not that this is done more to serve us, than it is from the avowed hatred which some persons bear that nobleman ; an hatred which will never cease, as it arises from that strong passion, jealousy. We may therefore hope in a short time to see the fleet of England moulder away ; and then, without any internal commotions, her Sun of Glory is set for ever.

The melancholy *contour* of your letter has much affected us all. We know your abilities and have a strong confidence in them ; you are loved and adored by the army ; and even your enemies allow you merit. If you desert us, it may do us effectual mischief. The English consider you as our sheet anchor ; and your resignation would indeed be a triumph to them ; you must not therefore at this time think of it ; the very idea is dangerous, and if published would sow discontent indeed throughout the army. Lucrative motives, we are certain, are no objects to you, or you might name your terms. The gratitude of America is, however, superior to the promises of Congress ; and when the day of peace comes, her glorious General will not be forgot.

As to the conquest of Charlestown, it is indeed an immense loss to us ; but the victory of Britain in Carolina will be short-lived ; we have friends who are working such a mine as will blow up all their triumphal schemes ; and if Providence favour us, the news of the surrender will come to their ears a day too late for their rejoicing in London. I have already given you a hint that must raise your expectations—the explanation will surprise you. [Here follow about twenty lines of strange figures, somewhat like the Hebrew characters.]

In a stedfast hope that the God of battle will direct you how best to act, should Clinton attack you, I remain your invariable friend,

J. Hancock

G. Washington."

## NOTES

**BISHOP MEADE**—In the recently issued Volume IV. of the Memorial Biographies of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Rev. Philip Slaughter, D. D. writes: "Bishop Meade, though never meddling with politics, which is regarded in Virginia as out of the ministerial sphere, was of the Washington, Hamilton and Marshall school: and clung to the Union till the Force Bill was passed, which made the South solid, as the first gun at Sumter did the North. He seized the forlorn hope that the separation might be a peaceable one, like that between Judah and Israel. The Convention of May, 1861, was the semi-centenary of his ministry; and he preached the Convention Sermon. It was like the swan-song of the sainted Simeon, or rather like Moses on Pisgah taking a retrospect of his life and a survey of the promised land. He said that historians and poets had painted in glowing colors the pomp and circumstance of glorious war, but the word of God did not thus speak: the only wars that had any pretense for justification were those in defense of the rights of person and property; and even these were attended with so much sin and suffering, that they must be regarded as sore scourges and judgments of an angry God."

**JOHN WASHINGTON**—*To the Editor of the Magazine of American History*: Some months ago I found the name of

John Washington with the tax of 16 shillings affixed in the manuscript Tax Lists of New Castle, Delaware, for the year 1693. As the Washington family were interested in the Principio Iron Works in Cecil County, Maryland, founded in 1715, and the latter were not above four or five hours' drive from New Castle, it is probable that the above John Washington was nearly connected with the family of the Father of our Country. **JOHN MEREDITH READ**

December 1, 1885.

**CHURCHES IN NEWARK, 1707**—In Rev. Dr. Bowen's work on *The Days of Make-mie*, after a little sketch of a Minister's meeting in Newark, at the house of Mr. Jasper Crane, the author says: "Here there is a Reformed Dutch Church, also one of French Huguenots. A small circle of Presbyterians are in the habit of meeting together in private houses for reading the Scriptures and for prayer and praise. They are true men and tried. One of these, a lawyer of talent and growing influence, Mr. David Jamison, was imprisoned for his religion in Europe and brought into this country and sold into servitude for a term of years.

"I hear also of Captain John Theobalds, John Vanhorn, a merchant, Anthony Young and William Jackson, both of the latter also banished from Scotland for devotion to Christ and Presbyterianism."

## QUERIES

**JAMES BRIDGER**—What sources are there of information regarding this "old man of the mountains?" The absence of

his name in *Poole's Index* proves that, at least up to the year 1883, he had never been the subject of a magazine article.

In the catalogue of the Congressional Library I cannot discover the title of any book about him. But next to John Colter, Bridger was first to penetrate into the Geyser-realm of the Yellowstone. Bonneville, in 1832, found Bridger west of the Rockies as a resident partner of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Reynolds, in 1859 and 1860, would have failed every way in his Yellowstone Expedition, but for Bridger as guide and factotum. Who will point me to other authorities concerning this mountaineer besides Bonneville, Stansbury, and Reynolds?

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

MEADE—LATHAM—I. David Meade, of Virginia, and afterward of Kentucky, says in his history of the Meade family: that Andrew, the immigrant ancestor, was a native of Ireland; that he went from Ireland to London, and thence came to New York near the close of the 17th Century; that while in New York he married Mary Latham, of Flushing, and of "Quaker parentage;" and that subsequently this Andrew Meade and his wife settled on the Nansemond River in Virginia, then the "head-quarters" of the Friends in that colony.

Query—(1) Who were the parents of Mary Latham, and where did they reside? (2) The date and place of her marriage to Andrew Meade?

II. In the abstract of the will of George Fox, and of the subsequent proceedings in relation to that will (*Historical and Genealogical Register*, October, 1885, pp. 327-9), mention is made of Fox's stepdaughter, *Sarah Meade*, wife of *William Meade*, of London, in 1688, and also in 1697.

Query—(1) What family relation, if

any, was Andrew, of Virginia, to William, of London? (2) Was Andrew Meade himself at any time a member of the Society of Friends?

A. H. HOYT

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER IN DUTCH—A copy of the Book of Common Prayer, published by John Crellius, Amsterdam, 1711, has been preserved in the Van Rensselaer family. The English and "Low Dutch" are printed in parallel columns. The "Approbation" of the Bishop of London sets forth the reasons for the publication. "Whereas the Liturgy of the Church of England, as by Law established, was translated into the Dutch Language, and is now to be reprinted in the English and Dutch Languages both together; and whereas We are satisfied from persons of good credit, that it is performed by JOHN CRELLIUS, Printer in *Amsterdam* with great care and exactness: We do not only approve of the republishing of it, but likewise recommend it to the use of all such, as shall like that Service, and hope, it may be of use in foreign Parts, at least to justify Our Church-Worship. But that, which chiefly has made Us presume to reiterate Our Approbation, is from the Authority of the QUEEN'S MAJESTY, who has been graciously pleased to allow and encourage the use of it in the *Dutch Congregation*, at the *Chaple of St. James* upon the xiv. of April, 1703.

"Given under Our hand the xxiii. of June 1710. H. London."

Is there any reason to believe that this service-book was used in any of the Dutch congregations in this country?

B.

## REPLIES

THE BOSTON RIOT OF 1778 [viii. 856, 785]—Neither the care of the governing powers in Boston, nor the ideas of benefits received, or to be derived from the alliance with France were sufficient, during the stay of the French fleet in that port, wholly to cure the ancient prejudices and hereditary animosity of the populace, with respect to a nation which they had so long considered as a rival, and so frequently encountered as an enemy. The difference of religion, language, and manners could not fail to hold a considerable share in keeping these animosities still alive; although, so far as it can be judged from appearances at this distance, the French have studied more in their commerce with the Americans to evade the effect of these peculiarities, and have shown a greater deference to the prejudices, and conformity to the manner and opinions of the people than they perhaps ever practiced in their connections with any other part of mankind. Indeed, a mode of conduct directly contrary has for many ages been considered as one of the striking characteristics of that nation; and has, not unfrequently, been productive of the most fatal consequences to themselves as well as to others.

However, it was a most violent affray, in which numbers on both sides were engaged, and the French seem to have been very roughly treated; it happened on the 17th of September, 1778, at night, in Boston. Some of the French were said to have been killed, and several were certainly wounded; among whom were some officers, and one particularly of considerable distinction. As both D'Es-

taing and the government of Boston were eager to accomodate matters in such a manner as that no sting should remain behind on either side, a great reserve was observed with respect to the particulars of the riot, as well as of the circumstances which led to it; and the cursory imperfect sketches that were published, showed evidently that they were not to be relied on.

A proclamation was issued by the council of State on the following day, strictly urging the magistrates to use their utmost endeavors for bringing the offenders to justice, and offering a reward of three hundred dollars for the discovery of any of the parties concerned in the riot. And to remove the impression of its arising from any popular animosity to the French, the Boston prints labored to fix it upon some unknown captured British seamen and deserters from Burgoyne's army, who had enlisted in their privateers. D'Estaing had the address to give into this idea, and to appear thoroughly satisfied with the satisfaction he received. The high reward produced no manner of discovery.

The same spirit operated just about the same time and in the same manner, but much more violent in degree and fatal in consequence between the American and French seamen, in the city and port of Charleston, South Carolina. The quarrel there began, as at Boston, ashore, and at night, and ended in the last extreme of hostility—an open fight with cannon and small arms; the French firing from their ships, whither they had been hastily driven from the town, and

the Americans from the adjoining wharfs and shore. Several lives were acknowledged to be lost, and a much greater number were, of course, wounded.

As the northern colonies, particularly the province of Massachusetts, do not produce wheat in any proportion at all equal to their own consumption, and that, through the continual losses and dangers which their supplies from the southern experienced in their passage, together with some local causes, provisions of all sorts had for some time been so unusually scarce and dear in the town and neighborhood of Boston as nearly to threaten a famine, it was generally expected, and undoubtedly apprehended by himself, that D'Estaing would have encountered great difficulties, if not actual distress, from the impracticability of victualing, and the doubt even of subsisting his fleet at that port. He was, however, relieved from these difficulties and apprehensions by a singular fortune. The New England cruisers happened at that very period to take such a number of provision vessels on their way from Europe to New York, as not only abundantly supplied the wants of the French fleet, but furnished such an overplus, as was sufficient to reduce the rates of the markets at Boston to something about their usual moderate state. This fortunate supply was a matter of great triumph to that people.

Thus was D'Estaing, on the 3d of November, enabled to quit Boston, and to prosecute his designs in the West Indies, with a fleet thoroughly repaired, clean, well victualed, and his forces in full health and vigor. And thus it may be said, without any extraordinary stretch

of license, that to all appearance, a royal fleet owed its preservation, at least in a very great degree, to the industry and fortune of a few privateers.—The *Universal Magazine*, February, 1784. Vol. 74, page 87. PETERSFIELD

YELLOW BREECHES [xiv. 324, 415, 521]—Is not Yellow Breeches a blunder of the colonial compositor? I find in a list of letters advertised in the same paper (*Philadelphia Packet*), April 20, 1772, "James Maxwell, *Yellow Springs*," also in the issue of November 2, the same year, "Neal Deffas, *Yellow Springs*."

Why should a letter be directed to a creek? The settlement at Yellow Springs was quite early. Some of our Philadelphia investigators may be able to locate James McKnight; there was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly of that name in 1779. BRISTOL

YELLOW BREECHES [xiv. 324, 415, 521]—In answer to your inquiry as to the origin and signification of the word Yellow Breeches, the name of a stream flowing between York and Cumberland Counties, I would say very good authority derives it from the Indian words *calla passink*, which signify "where it turns back again." The name is supposed to refer to some place in the stream where it makes a sharp turn or angle, the terminal syllable *ink* signifying "place" or "locality" in the Delaware language.

S. G. BOYD

YORK, PENNSYLVANIA, October 30.

YELLOW BREECHES—GALLAPASSCINKER [xiv. 324, 415 and 521].—As I had no inducement whatever to mislead Petersfield, or any one else, it did not oc-

cur to me that my statement regarding the Indian name of Yellow Breeches Creek would be questioned; I therefore did not take the trouble to give any authority for it. It is evident from the communication of H that neither Trego or he had proper facilities for discovering the Indian name of the creek. That the Indian name is not lost he will find by consulting the *Proceedings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. I, 133*, or the *Historical Map of Pennsylvania*, published by the same society. Heckewelder, the Indian missionary, gives Gallapassinker as the Indian name of Yellow Breeches Creek, and says it signifies "Where it turns back again (alluding to a particular place on the creek, where bends are)."

In regard to the origin of the name Yellow Breeches I have heard a more probable story. Early in the last century an Indian chief, known to the traders as Yellow Breeches, had a small town at the mouth of the creek—hence the name Yellow Breeches. I can give no printed authority for this, but it came down from my great grandfather, who settled near the creek.

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA.

JOHN BRECKINRIDGE [xiv. 190]—  
*Editor of Magazine of American History*:  
In an interesting article in your August Magazine, I find the following statement in reference to the election of John Breckinridge to the House of Burgesses: "The House treated the election as a jest or worse and summarily set it aside. They were surprised to see the same boy returned the next election and once more set that aside. A third time the

same return was made, and this time the lad took his seat."

This may be tradition, but is it history? We have before us the Journals of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and after a careful examination give the result of our labor. The earliest election after the time spoken of, "the autumn of 1780," was in the spring of 1781. In the records for the spring term of the Assembly we find no mention of the names of the members from Botetourt, but at the adjourned session held in November, we find on the 8th, "the Sergeant-at-arms ordered to take into custody John Breckinridge, member from the County of Botetourt. On the 14th he attended in custody, gave good cause for absence and was admitted to his seat without payment of fees." On the 28th the Sergeant-at-arms was ordered to take into custody John Breckinridge, and Samuel Lewis, members from Botetourt. On the 29th, John Breckinridge, one of the members from the County of Botetourt, was admitted to seat on payment of fees. In October, 1782, we find Thomas Madison and Thomas Lewis representing Botetourt County. On the 23d of October, 1783, we find the Sergeant ordered to take into custody John Breckinridge, one of the members from Botetourt. On November 11th and 19th, we find John Breckinridge among those voting. On the 16th of December, and again on the 17th, we find the Sergeant ordered to take him into custody. In the spring and fall sessions for 1785, we find John Breckinridge as a member. It is perhaps also proper to state that the General Assembly of Virginia in 1780 held its sessions at Richmond, the then capital, and not at Williams-

burg, and that John Wood and Thomas Madison were the members from Bote-tourt for that year. W. D. H.

MAYSVILLE, KENTUCKY.

**HISTORICAL TREES** [xiv. 516]—I would add to the list of Historical Trees, the Charter Oak at Hartford; the Stuyvesant Pear Tree at New York city; the Oaks under which George Fox preached at Flushing, Long Island; the Tulip Tree at Tarrytown under which Andre is said to have been taken; the Elms at Boston, Newport and Providence, known as "Liberty Trees;" and Penn's famous Treaty Elm.

Is not the story of Hamilton planting the thirteen trees on the same footing as George Washington and the cherry tree? Can any authentic contemporary reference be found to prove it?

PETERSFIELD

**COOL AS A CUCUMBER** [xiv. 103]—This is not an Americanism. Dean Swift uses it in his *New Song of New Similies*.

Pert as a pear monger I'd be,  
If Molly were but kind;  
Cool as a cucumber could see  
The rest of woman-kind.

MINTO

**JACK DATCHETT** [xiv. 517]—In reply to "Collector," who asks for the name of the author of "*Jack Datchett, The Clerk: an Old Man's Tale*:" Baltimore, 1846," I would inform him that it was written by John Donaldson of this city, who is still living. J. G. M.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

**BURNING OF COLUMBIA, S. C.**—*Editor Magazine of American History*—In a communication by Rev. J. Croll Baum

[xiv. 619], in the December number of your valuable magazine, under the caption of "An Incident of the Burning of Columbia, S. C.," he implies, or leaves the impression, to me at least, that General Sherman was directly or indirectly responsible for the burning of that city. Mr. Baum is either ignorant of the facts in the case or is intentionally malicious. In this late day, after all angry feelings have died out between the contending factions, and committees "On the Conduct of the War" have exonerated General Sherman from setting fire to or ordering it done to Columbia or any city or building in the "late Confederacy," except its non-destruction was a means of "aiding or abetting the war."

I certainly have my doubts if General Sherman ever knew of the particular building named in the above mentioned paper, much less ordered its destruction.

If Mr. Baum will take the trouble to look over the report of the "Committee on the Conduct of the War,"—that particular part referring to the burning of Columbia—he will find the blame is put where it belongs, upon the rebel cavalry, who set fire to a large amount of baled cotton at the depot, which was fanned into flames by an increasing high wind after our possession. The utmost exertion was made to extinguish it by order of General Sherman. I am personally cognizant of these facts, as I was there.

If any further reference is needed I would refer the gentleman to *Sherman's Memoirs*, p. 286, where he will find a complete and full explanation of the same.

Yours,

ONE OF SHERMAN'S BOYS

KANSAS CITY, December 1, 1885.

## SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—This old Society celebrated its eighty-first Anniversary, November 17, when the Address was delivered by Hon. Luther R. Marsh, on "The Alphabet,—the Vehicle of History." The origin and growth of this elementary tool of the human intellect, and its power in all the fields of thought and language, especially in its function as the vehicle of history, were traced and analyzed by the eloquent lecturer in an able, interesting, and philosophical discourse, which it may be said most happily illustrated itself in showing what genius and learning can do with the simple instrument of which it treated. The rhetorical charm of vigorous, well-expressed thoughts and the speaker's well-known graces of oratory held the close attention of the large and cultivated audience to its conclusion.

At the regular meeting, December 1, Dr. George H. Moore, favored the Society with the results of a patient, and accurate research into "The Origin and History of Yankee Doodle," adding another valuable and interesting exposition to the many important contributions to American History, which have emanated from his pen and commanded the attention of historical students. Dr. Moore criticised the numerous theories extant respecting the origin both of the word *Yankee* and of the words and tune of "Yankee Doodle." He briefly exhibited their fallacies, and antedated those respecting the word, which are not simply of fanciful derivation, by producing historical instances of its use as far back as the commencement of the 18th century. His theory of its deri-

vation assigns the origin of the word to the Low-Dutch word *janker*, which signifies "a howling cur, a yelper, a growler, a grumbling person;" and he found in the history of the relations existing between the English and Dutch, sufficient grounds for the hostility and contempt, which the latter illustrated and emphasized by calling the former *dogs*.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The November meeting of this Society was held Monday evening, November 9.

President Hon. John H. B. Latrobe in the chair: Secretaries, Messrs. W. Hall Harris, Mendes Cohen, and Henry C. Wagner were present. Sixteen active members were elected. A bust of the late John P. Kennedy, by Prof. Leonce Rabillon, of Johns Hopkins University, was presented to the Society by the artist.

Rev. W. F. Brand, D.D., of Harford County, read a very interesting paper on Lieutenant-Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay, commander of the Maryland Line at the battle of Monmouth. Colonel Ramsay was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1740. He was appointed United States Marshal for Maryland by Washington, and continued in that position by Presidents Adams, Jefferson and Madison. He was severely wounded at Monmouth, where, at the command of Washington, the Maryland Line checked the advance of the troops of Sir Henry Clinton, until the main body of the American army could be brought up.

Many descendants of Colonel Ramsay are now living in Baltimore and Harford and Cecil Counties.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, December 5—A stated meeting was held at the Society's house, in Somerset Street, Boston.

General James Grant Wilson, of New York city, read a paper on Commodore Isaac Hull. It contained many new and interesting facts concerning the celebrated New England sailor and the famous Boston frigate *Constitution*, General Wilson having had placed in his hands all of Hull's papers with a view to the preparation of a biography of the conqueror of the *Guerrière*. Among the numerous extracts which General Wilson gave from Hull's correspondence were the following: Writing from the *Chesapeake* to a New York friend just before his departure in the *Constitution* for that city in 1812, Hull says: "I am now about to sail from this place for New York. I may by the time I arrive off your port find my passage disputed, but if it is only by a single-deck ship, I hope to enter and bring her with me." After his escape from the British squadron off Sandy Hook he put into Boston, and before his departure on a frigate-hunting expedition he wrote to the same New York friend: "If I have the good luck to fall in with the *Shannon* or any other British frigate now afloat, there will be some hard pounding before we part company."

At the conclusion of the reading, thanks were unanimously voted to General Wilson for his excellent and instructive paper, and a copy of it was requested.

John Ward Dean, the Librarian, reported as donations to the Library in November, eighteen volumes and sixty-five pamphlets.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY —At its meeting on December 1, this society was addressed by Amasa M. Eaton, Esq., on the history of the French and American treaties of alliance, the origin and partial adjustment of spoliation claims and the nomination of several Rhode Island claimants. The paper treated the subject in an exhaustive and comprehensive manner, and indicated thorough research and an intelligent analysis of public and private documents in the preparation of the material. The author spoke of the unfortunate position in which America found herself, at the mercy of two rival nations, France and England, and thought it remarkable that any American vessels escaped plunder and confiscation. The humiliations and insults to which our national flag was exposed upon the sea was sufficient to make the American blood tingle and boil. It was only when we became a nation in fact as well as in name, that we were able to make any impression upon our friends across the Atlantic by our mode of assertion of our rights.

At the close of the reading, Mr. Alfred Stone moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Eaton for his admirable paper, and remarked that one potent reason for the delay and negligence in the adjustment of these claims lay in the fact that the majority of the claimants lived north of Mason and Dixon's line. He believed that justice would yet be done.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Henry T. Beckwith, and President Gammell in putting the question said that the paper was a most interesting chapter in American history.

## BOOK NOTICES

THE GREEK ISLANDS, and Turkey After the War. By HENRY M. FIELD, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 228. 1885. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons.

This volume is if possible more interesting than any of Dr. Field's previous volumes of travel. The subject of it may be no richer in historical and poetical associations than the sacred localities of Palestine, which lent such a subtle charm to the author's *Among the Holy Hills*. But the picturesque islands in the Grecian waters are alive with stirring memories, and Dr. Field's word-painting was never more vivid and pleasing than in his descriptions of places and scenes throughout this entire work. He takes the reader to Cyprus, with its tombs, its buried cities, and temples and palaces—the monument of a mighty power long since passed away—where perhaps no equal space in the world contains richer treasures, and where to dig in its soil is to uncover the remains of a hundred generations. He then proceeds along the shores of Asia Minor, tracing the outline of the coasts where once marched the armies of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia; also of Darius the Great on his way to the Bosphorus—on which he laid the bridge of boats to pass over into Europe seven hundred thousand men—followed by his son Xerxes with a million of men to conquer Greece. Along this highway, also, Alexander the Great marched the other way, carrying war into Asia, more than three hundred years before Christ was born. And nearly four hundred years later, Paul, the Apostle, climbed the same pass in his second missionary journey to the scattered churches of Asia Minor. Alexander, one of the greatest figures of antiquity, has left scarcely a trace of his brilliant career upon modern institutions, while Paul lives in the heart of millions, through all the eighteen centuries since that time, and is a living force in this present living world. The island of Scio is the reputed birthplace of Homer—Scio which sixty years ago was the scene of an event which made the ears of the civilized world to tingle. The author says: "One charm of a voyage in the Greek Archipelago is, that, while winding in and out among the islands, the mainland is almost always in sight. . . ." "It was on the Sabbath morning that we were sailing up the Dardanelles. As we came on deck we found the shores on either hand bristling with forts—reminders of the fearful struggles that have taken place for the possession of Constantinople. A little above the Castles the strait narrows till it is less than a mile wide, and its passage might be obstructed by heavy chains swung from shore to shore. It was at this point that Xerxes laid his bridge of boats between the ancient Sestos and Abydos; and here Alexander the Great,

with his Macedonians, crossed into Asia. Here Leander swam the strait to keep his tryst with Hero, and Byron followed his example. These historical and romantic associations gave such an interest to the scenes around us that we were in no haste to come to the end of our voyage."

The book abounds with thought and information. "The whole Eastern question revolves round this narrow strip of the Bosphorus—the border-line of Europe and Asia." We learn how America has contributed with her schools and colleges and churches to brighten even Asiatic gloom—how the reflux wave from the youngest of nations touches those ancient shores. We have given here but the merest glimpse of what is in store for the reader. The volume is delightfully entertaining throughout, and will be thoroughly appreciated.

PRACTICAL ECONOMICS. A Collection of Essays respecting certain of the recent Economic Experiences of the United States. By DAVID A. WELLS, LL.D., D.C.L. 8vo, pp. 259. 1885. New York and London. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The scholarly essays embraced in this volume, each of which illustrate some phase in the recent economic experiences of the United States, have nearly all of them appeared in the various publications of the day, but are now collected with some revisions and additions, and presented to the intelligent public in permanent form. "Our Experience in Taxing Distilled Spirits" is an original contribution to this work; and the "Production and Distribution of Wealth" embodies the author's annual address as President of the American Social Science Association, at Detroit in May, 1885. These two essays occupy the concluding pages of the volume, and are full of thought and valuable instruction. In discussing the "Production and Distribution of Wealth," the author wisely says: "The time has not yet come when society in the United States can command such a degree of absolute abundance as to justify and warrant any class or individual, rich or poor, and least of all those who depend upon the products of each day's labor to meet each day's needs, in doing anything which can in any way tend to diminish abundance. Street processions, marching after flags and patriotic mottoes, even if held every day in the week, will never change the conditions which govern production and compensation. Idleness produces nothing but weeds and rust; and such products are not marketable anywhere, though society often pays for them most dearly." "The Silver Question" and "Tariff Revision" are important chapters in this admirable book, which to be appreciated must be read; and we would cordially recom-

mend that the "True Story of the Leaden Statuary" be by no means omitted. The distinguished economist writes with great force and elegance of diction, and his opinions should command careful consideration. In his preface he says: "A century hence, except for such chronicles of recent tariff legislation as are here given, the writer is of the opinion that the world would find it very difficult to believe that such an illiberal commercial policy and body of tax and navigation laws as now exist, could ever have been maintained and defended for any length of time by a people so free, well-educated and jealous of their individual rights as those of the United States."

**OUR FATHER IN HEAVEN.** The Lord's Prayer. In a series of Sonnets. By WILLIAM C. RICHARDS. Square 12mo, pp. 30. Lee & Shepard. Boston, 1885.

For three years in succession the enterprising Boston publishers, Lee and Shepard, have provided an exceptionally beautiful gift-book at the Christmas season—a holiday gem of original poems from the pen of Professor William C. Richards. The first of these, "The Lord is my Shepherd," and the second, "The Mountain Anthem," were welcomed on every hand with enthusiasm. The charming little work just issued, entitled, "The Lord's Prayer," speaks for itself all that is necessary in its own praise. It consists of a series of sonnets, thirteen in number, each one exquisitely illustrated, and the whole very daintily and tastefully bound in the same general styles as its companion volumes. Of the sweetness and felicity of expression which pervades these poems a general idea may be gathered from the following extract from the poet's "Amen":

"Desire and faith are blent in this strong word,  
The pith and point of every earnest prayer,  
And breathed, for evermore, though unaware,  
When contrite hearts with heavenward sighs are stirred."

**PERSONAL MEMOIRS OF U. S. GRANT.**

In two volumes. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 584. New York, 1885. Charles L. Webster & Company.

In taking up this work the reader is interested from the very first paragraph—"My family is American, and has been for generations in all its branches, direct and collateral." The history of the life of the most conspicuous American of his time, told by himself, in pithy, easy, clear continuity of narrative, in connection with events of the greatest moment in our national existence, cannot otherwise than possess a magnetism for the American public such as never invested any other autobiographical rec-

ord since the world was created. As the leading actor in the stirring scenes of our late gigantic Civil War, General Grant's utterances will be treasured in all the future, and by people of every shade of opinion wherever the English language is spoken. He wrote chiefly from memory, thus it will be no matter of surprise if his recitals and conclusions should, in various instances, be controverted by other living participants in the great contest. But his having written at all is a source of perpetual gratulation. The circumstances which inspired this story of his remarkable career, from boyhood to the grave, have in them so much of pathos that the American heart is touched with tenderness toward the dying author. There is a feeling also of confidence in his absolute integrity, and, as expressed in his preface, in "his sincere desire to avoid doing injustice to any one, whether on the National or Confederate side, other than the unavoidable injustice of not making mention often where special mention is due."

The twenty-second chapter of the volume will be examined with exceptional interest in connection with General W. F. Smith's article on Fort Donelson in the current number of this magazine. Concerning General C. F. Smith, General Grant writes: "General Halleck, unquestionably, deemed General C. F. Smith a much fitter officer for the command of all the forces in the military district than I was, and, to render him available for such command, desired his promotion to antedate mine and those of the other division commanders. It is probable that the general opinion was that Smith's long services in the army and distinguished deeds rendered him the more proper person for such command. Indeed, I was rather inclined to this opinion myself at that time, and would have served as faithfully under Smith as he had done under me. But this did not justify the dispatches which General Halleck sent to Washington, or his subsequent concealment of them from me when pretending to explain the action of my superiors."

On receipt of the order restoring me to command I proceeded to Savannah on the *Tennessee*, to which point my troops had advanced. General Smith was delighted to see me and was unhesitating in his denunciation of the treatment I had received. He was on a sick bed at the time, from which he never came away alive. His death was a severe loss to our Western army. His personal courage was unquestioned, his judgment and professional acquirements were unsurpassed, and he had the confidence of those he commanded as well as those over him."

**MEMORIAL BIOGRAPHIES OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.** Towne Memorial

Fund. Vol. IV. 1860-62. 8vo, pp. 559. Boston, 1885. Published by the Society.

We find in this new volume of the series several memoirs of no little interest and excellence. The life, early, domestic, professional, and judicial, of Samuel Shaw, the eminent Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, is, perhaps, one of the best. It is in two parts, the first written by Samuel S. Shaw, A.M., LL.B.; the second by Hon. P. Emory Aldrich, LL.B., showing how the professional and judicial life of the subject extended over a period of fifty-six years—twenty-six at the bar, and thirty on the bench—and whose published opinions are found in fifty-five volumes of the Massachusetts Reports, beginning with the tenth of Pickering and ending with the fifteenth of Gray, embracing every branch of the law, both civil and criminal, many of these opinions dealing with the most important questions of Constitutional law. From many points of view the sketch of General Wm. H. Sumner, by Mr. Oliver B. Stebbins, might also be quoted as the gem of the book, as it contains a large amount of contemporaneous history, in which frame-work the portrait of the versatile Sumner is drawn with consummate skill. General Sumner was the author, it will be remembered, of numerous important works, of which was the history of East Boston, one of the most noteworthy of America's local histories. The chapter on George N. Briggs, Governor of Massachusetts, is also one of absorbing interest. It is from the pen of Mr. Joseph E. H. Smith, who had every opportunity of judging correctly of the personal characteristics of his subject, and who writes: "To excel in goodness is unquestionably to be great; and it is surely a great thing to be loved of the people, without regard to official station or political leadership, as George N. Briggs certainly was." An admirably written paper on Cornelius Conway Felton, President of Harvard University, is by the Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, of Cambridge; the able biographer of Judge Daniel Appleton White is the Rev. Henry M. Foote, A.M., of Boston; the memoir of Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell is presented by his daughter, Mrs. Mary Lowell Putnam, sister of James Russell Lowell; and Judge Richard Sullivan is the subject of a carefully prepared biographical sketch by Mr. Thomas C. Amory. The volume contains many other notable contributions, in all, the memoirs of thirty-five deceased members of the society; and it has been edited with marked ability by Mr. Albert H. Hoyt, A.M., the present secretary. It is a most valuable contribution to the biographical literature of America.

VALENTINO. An Historical Romance of the Sixteenth Century in Italy. By WILLIAM

WALDORF ASTOR. 12mo, pp. 325. New York, 1885: Charles Scribner's Sons.

In touching upon Italian history in the sixteenth century Mr. Astor has performed a singularly important service to the present reading generation. His book is launched as a romance, and as a romance it will be judged; but to such scholars as are familiar with the picturesque back ground of events, upon which he has based his unique romance, it will ever possess something more than a mere romantic and transitory fascination. Mr. Astor has evidently made good use of his peculiar opportunities while in Italy for the searching of archives, and his entire work from cover to cover reveals close, conscientious, and laborious study. The very name of Borgia awakens an unshapely train of ideas in the popular mind of to-day, of which wickedness without limit is the conspicuous feature. Mr. Astor has gathered and transformed the whole tangled mass of varied material relating to the family of Borgia into a consummate work of art. The notorious Valentino—Cesare Borgia—is the central figure in the story, while the marvelously beautiful Lucretia and a multitude of other historical personages of equal note are marshaled into critical notice—with all their brilliant accessories, as well as their intrigues and crimes—and with a master hand he has wrought it into a chapter of intense interest, invested with the freshness of contemporary gossip. The costumes, amusements, weapons, mode of warfare, houses, furniture, and habits of the old Italians in high life during the sixteenth century, are pictured by Mr. Astor with surprising accuracy; and thus his charmingly well written and readable romance is given permanent historical value.

A CAPTIVE OF LOVE—Founded upon Bakiu's Japanese romance, "*Kumono Táyema Ama Yo No Touki*." By EDWARD GREY, 12mo, pp. 280. 1885. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: C. T. Dillingham.

Never has a book made its appearance in the New York market at a more timely juncture. With its appetite whetted for everything Japanese by the various dramatic versions of Gilbert and Sullivan's "*Mikado*," the public turned with avidity to a real Japanese Village, imported bodily from Japan, with its artisans and tradesfolk, its women and babies, and domestic life. It is now, as never before, ready to read a genuine Japanese novel, and to appreciate much of its local color. When the heroine gracefully sits down upon her heels, the reader who has visited the village knows just how she looked. When Takeakira beats his numbed arms upon his body and murmurs "cold, cold," the reader remembers seeing the little Jap women shiver over their teapot, and murmur something which may

have been "*Sammi, Sammi*," though he did not actually hear it. It is well that a book so abundantly and gratuitously advertised should be worthy the occasion. It is, in truth, a very fascinating tale, full of the quaint situations which we have learned to associate with the remarkable people whose life it fancifully portrays, and well illustrated from drawings by native artists. The meaning of the original title done into English is, "The moon shining through a cloud-rift on a rainy night," which may do very well for a title in its native land, but is hardly adapted to an English audience. Judging from this romance the Japanese are every whit as wicked in their novels as occidentals are wont to be under like circumstances. The author's notes—not the translator's—are among the unique and characteristic features of the book, which must be read to be fully appreciated; since the generally mixed character of plot, with its magic, spirits, demons, thunder-animals, and the like, is *sui generis*.

THE ORIGIN OF REPUBLICAN FORM  
OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED  
STATES OF AMERICA. BY OSCAR S.  
STRAUS. 12mo, pp. 150. 1885. New York:  
G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Apparently there are very few Americans who have seriously considered the questions suggested by the above title. A foreigner asking why a Democratic Republican form of government was originally selected would, in a majority of cases, be told that there was no choice open; that the people would have nothing else; that it was obviously the one thing to do. If the seeker after knowledge pursued his inquiries further he would probably find his informant unprepared to go into details. With this conviction in his mind the author, two years ago, prepared a lecture which attracted so much attention from students of history that he extended his researches, and the present attractive little volume is the result. In considering the influences which led first to a provisional and, secondly, to a permanent form, he reviews briefly the history of other revolutions, the bearing of the petitions to the crown, the other negotiations which preceded the Declaration of Independence, the moral influence exerted by the first settlers in the different colonies, and the early acts of the colonial assemblies. The religious and political causes which led to revolt are considered at length and with a comprehensive grasp of the subject which shows thought and study on the author's part. His conclusion is that religious convictions and associations were mainly instrumental in shaping the purposes of our first legislators. The convictions of all of them, consciously or not, were, he thinks, modeled by the divinely given constitution of the Israelitish commonwealth, and he

holds that our existing institutions are based upon the teachings given from Sinai. While this line of reasoning is not altogether new, it is carried out here to its natural conclusions with a thoroughness for the like of which we should be at a loss to look elsewhere; and as the arguments are presented in clear, forcible English, the book will be found acceptable to every thoughtful reader, however fastidious in a literary point of view.

FARTHEST NORTH; or, The Life and Explorations of Lieutenant James Booth Lockwood, of the Greely Arctic Expedition. By CHARLES LANMAN. 12mo, pp. 333. 1885. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

So fast does the world move nowadays that even our heroes are temporarily forgotten, until their achievements are recalled to us in some emphatic way. The gallant young officer who carried the American flag nearer to the North Pole than man ever went before, was to the public at large only an incident in the sad story which ended with the few survivors of the ill-fated party at Cape Sabine. His body was among those that were laid side by side under the Arctic sky—his comrades being too weak to bury them—and was brought back by the relief expedition under Commander Schley. Public interest in the story of Lieutenant Lockwood's life centers chiefly in the sledge expeditions which he successfully conducted during the long sojourn at Fort Conger. Of those the most notable is the one already referred to, which led along the coast northward and eastward to 83° 24½' of north latitude. This was verified by no less than thirty-six observations, patiently taken under exceptionally favorable conditions of weather. The volume is embellished with a handsomely engraved portrait of Lieutenant Lockwood, and several plates from sketches and photographs, which add greatly to the vividness and interest of the narrative. A fine map at the end of the book gives the routes of his explorations, including the famous one just mentioned, and it is most interesting to follow the progress of the little party from point to point along that unexplored coast.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT. — Through the courtesy of A. R. Hart & Co., the Magazine has this month been enabled to furnish its readers with a most interesting chapter, showing in terse language the Origin and Consequences of Slavery in America, from General Logan's forthcoming book—*The Great Conspiracy*. The Magazine is still further indebted to the same enterprising publishing house for permission to use its exquisite steel portrait of General Logan as the frontispiece to this, its New Year's number.





# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE CITY OF ALBANY

### TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF PROGRESS

ALBANY, the capital of the Empire State, situated upon its picturesque group of hills overlooking the Hudson River, is one of the most interesting as well as ancient cities in North America. On the twenty-second day of July of the present year it will have reached its two hundredth birthday, an event of exceptional importance. It received its original city charter from Thomas Dongan, "Captain General, Governour-in-Chief and Admiral of the Province of New Yorke and its Dependencies, under His Majesty, James II.," who made a journey to Albany soon after signing the famous "Dongan Charter" for the City of New York—April 27, 1686. In conference with the chief men of Albany in relation to the Indian trade to be pursued, a far-sighted policy which was to give New York commercial ascendancy on this continent, the scheme for incorporating the city, long under discussion as we shall learn on a future page, was finally adopted; and the charter, in accordance with the energetic efforts of the projectors, gave to the new corporation large franchises, including the management of the Indian trade, then esteemed of vital importance to the country at large. The first mayor of the city of Albany was Peter Schuyler; the first city clerk was Robert Livingston, who was also made sub-collector of the King's revenues; the first recorder was Isaac Swinton; the first aldermen, Dirk Wessels, Jan Jans Bleecker, David Schuyler, Johannes Woodell, Lavinus Van Schaick, Adrian Garritse; and Joachim Staats, John Lansing, Isaac Verplanck, Lawrence Van Ale, Albret Ryckman, Wilgert Winantse, were assistant aldermen; Jan Bleecker was chamberlain; Richard Pretty, sheriff; and James Parker, marshal.

As early as 1664 the little village had been called Albany, in honor of the Duke of York and Albany, afterward James II. Its first settlement as a trading-post by the Dutch dated back to 1615. Henry Hudson, the English navigator, in the service of the Old Dutch East India Company, was probably the first European whose eyes rested upon the beautiful site of Albany, on the 23d of September, 1609. Dates, however, are but convenient mile-stones for the marking of progress. Time must pass like any